NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

Without Concealment----Without Compromise.

VOLUME IV.—NO. 38. NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1844. WHOLE NUMBER 194.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY,
BY THE
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
At 143, Nassau Street, New-York.

DAVID LEE CHILD, Editor.

☞ All remittances, and letters relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper, should be addressed to ISAAC T. HOPPER.

TERMS.—$2,00 a year, in advance; $2,50 if not paid within six months.

☞ $10,00, in advance, will pay for SIX copies for one year, sent to one address.

☞ TWENTY copies, or more, will be sent to one address, at $1,50 each.

☞ Subscribers can remit money without expense by observing the following rule of the Post Office Department: "A Postmaster may enclose money in a letter to the publisher of a newspaper, to pay the subscription of a third person, and frank the letter, if written by himself.

H. M. HENRY, PRINTER.

Selections.

SPEECH OF CASSIUS M. CLAY,

Delivered in a Mass Meeting of a portion of the citizens of the Eighth Congressional District, on Saturday, the 30th of December, 1843, at the White Sulphur Springs, in Scott county, Kentucky, in reply to Col. R. M. Johnson, and others.

The following resolutions were offered by C. M. Clay, as a substitute for those presented by the majority of the committee, and supported in a speech which has been reported, as follows:

Resolved, That the annexation of Texas to the American Union, without the consent of Mexico, will be a breach of the treaty of amity with that nation, contrary to the laws of nations, and just cause of war, on the part of Mexico, against the United States.

Resolved, That the annexation of the slave State of Texas to the United States, is contrary to the Federal Constitution—involuntary slavery, under act of Congress, being in violation of article fifth, of the amendments: "That no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law;" being also in violation of the principles of the Declaration of American Independence; and being also at war with the existence of real liberty among our own freeborn people.

Resolved, That Kentucky, above all other States in the confederacy, is vitally interested in the perpetuity of the American Union.

Resolved, That the annexation of the slave State of Texas to the United States, would be just cause for the dissolution of this Union; and would, most probably, array the northern States, Mexico, and all Christendom, in war against the slave States, which could not but result in ruin and slavery to the whites themselves.

Resolved, That in such a most deplorable event, Kentucky owes it to herself, to posterity, and to mankind, to refuse to expend her treasure and shed her blood for the extension of slavery among men; on the contrary, all her interests, temporal and eternal, demand of her speedily to extinguish slavery within her borders, and to unite her destiny with the northern States, who, relying upon God, liberty, and equality, will be able to stand against the world in arms.

Resolved, That these resolutions be sent to our representatives in Congress, to be laid before the American people.

[These resolutions were rejected.]

Mr. President and fellow-citizens: In presenting the resolutions which I have offered as a substitute for those reported by a majority of your committee, I do not hope to be more successful here, than I have been in the committee itself. This place of meeting, the presiding officer, (Col. R. M. Johnson,) and the audience who favor me with a hearing, all forbid any expectation on my part, of carrying the substitute. But I rejoice, humble as I may be in ability, unknown to fame, and of no consideration among men, that association with your name, in this day's deliberations, will give me a factitious importance, which will recommend what I shall say to a hearing from the people of the United States. My opinions, of little intrinsic value, may excite the minds of my countrymen to reflection, and then, after mature consideration, I dare venture the assertion, that the position I have this day taken, will be maintained in practice, and vindicated at last by a recognition of those principles, which it is the province of history to enforce and consecrate in the affections of mankind.

Regarding the questions at issue as second only to those which have forever illustrated the year 1776, I shall speak with that freedom which I inherit as my birthright, and which I so much desire to transmit unimpaired to posterity. Though yet young, I am old enough to know, from sad experience, what history in such melancholy strains, has uttered in vain into the deaf ears of men: that the best of counsel is far from being always the most acceptable. When the storm-cast vessel is threatened with wreck, the man who would save her by throwing overboard the boxes of gold, and other things of more cherished endearment, is hardly heard, whilst he who maintains that all is safe, is too often trusted till both life and treasure are irrevocably lost. He who from good motives gives even bad advice, is entitled at least to just forbearance: whilst the man who advances the best of counsel for selfish purposes deserves no consideration for his services.

Those gentlemen who would annex Texas to the Union, and hurry us blindfold down this precipice of ruin and dishonor, have here, in these slave States at least, popular prejudice in their favor. On one side are honor, power, wealth, and easy access to fame: on the other side, denunciation, banishment, poverty, and obscurity threaten. If I then speak freely the truth, when you, my countrymen, are to reap all the fruits of the sacrifice, no man can say that I ask too much, when I pray you to hear me with a patience, becoming the solemnity of the occasion.

First of all, then, I protest against this appeal to our sympathies in behalf of Texas, and these unjust denunciations of Mexico, as foreign to the true issue, and eminently calculated to lead us into error. Though truly, and with sorrow be it said, of Anglo-Saxon blood, bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh, in the language of gentlemen, I ask you, what claims of sympathy has Texas on the people of the United States? Enjoying all the blessings which the Constitution guarantees to her people, with all the offices of honor and profit, open to the humblest citizen; with an unoccupied domain extending to the distant Pacific, like our first parents going out from Eden, "with the world before them where to choose," in any clime, a home—they voluntarily banished themselves from their native country, disavowed the glorious principles of the American Declaration of the rights of man, renounced the inestimable privileges of the federal constitution, which was their inheritance, and forgetful of all the ties of common blood, language, and home, they became the fellow subjects with a half barbarian people, of a distant Spanish prince. Yes, without becoming the advocate of Santa Anna, whom we have heard denounced as a tyrant and traitor, for the purpose of prejudicing the cause which I vindicate; trusting to indestructible truth and avenging history, I challenge a comparison between Texas and Mexico. The Mexican people, inspired by that Declaration of American Independence, which recreant Texas had renounced, in 1821, vindicated by a glorious revolution, her title to independence of the Spanish monarchy; and illustrated in act, the postulate taught by our revolutionary heroes, that a people cannot of right be governed without their own consent. In 1824, Mexico, following the example of the United States and Great Britain, who in 1820 had declared the slave-trade piracy, and punishable with death, prohibited in the language of Judge Story, this "infernal traffic." In 1829, once more unlike Texas, she made it a part of her constitution, that no person born after the promulgation of the same, in the several provinces, should be held a slave. Again, in 1829, this much-abused Mexico, declared that slavery was extinguished in the republic, and elevating the dread standard of "God and Liberty," she called upon the sons of freedom, by arms, to vindicate this immortal decree. And where now, throughout this vast empire, did this glad note of liberty fail to receive a willing response?—Alas! for the recreant Saxon, Texas—the decendants of Washington, and Jefferson, and Adams, and Franklin—Texas, who had received from a paternal government a gratuitous fee simple in the finest soil on earth, exempt from taxation for ten years, and without other sacrifice, save allegiance to the government and the Catholic religion, which she had most solemnly sworn to yield;—Texas, was the first to raise the black flag of "slavery and no emancipation"—aye, Texas was the only people who dared to brave the indignation of mankind, by resisting that liberty which has made the nineteenth century ever memorable in the annals of the world. And yet, Santa Anna is a most horrible despot, and much injured and oppressed Texas, is a defender of liberty. Santa Anna, who has civilized the barbarian and revolutionary spirit of his people—who has suppressed the daring bands of robbers who infested the highways, making life unsafe, property insecure, and commerce impracticable—who has encouraged education and the useful arts—who has caused to be recognized the principles of equal rights, and representative government—who, in the midst of the embarrassments of the world, and the exhaustion, arising from revolutionary and civil wars, which have especially harassed his own country, has preserved the Mexican faith inviolate; whose many gallant deeds, in war and peace, have by the almost unanimous acclamation of the people, again and again, elevated him to the presidency of the republic. Santa Anna, who has often liberated American citizens, under circumstances which induced England to send them into hopeless exile—Santa Anna is an odious tyrant; and Texas, renegades from the land and religion of their fathers—Texas, the ingrate to their adopted and fostering country—Texas, the propagators of slavery—Texas, the repudiator of their debts, the violators of public faith—Texas is so lovely in the eyes of gentlemen, that we must take her to our embrace, although we fall with her into one common grave. But in truth, we have nothing to do with the republics of Texas and Mexico; whether they be the same or two independent nations, is to us a matter of no concern. We have no evidence that she seeks alliance, even if we were disposed to grant it. I am no propagandist—I am satisfied to maintain the principles, the independence, and the honor of my own country. The same impulse which leads me to repel foreign interference and to defend my own rights, constrains me also to keep aloof from, and respect the peculiar organization which other nations have deemed most suitable to secure their rights.

I contend, then, in the language of the first resolution, that the annexation of Texas to the United States, is contrary to the laws of nations, and just cause of war on the part of Mexico. The recognition of the independence of Texas by the United States, may or may not have been a sufficient cause of war. It remained with Mexico to vindicate her injured honor, or to pocket the injury or insult, as to her seemed best, relying upon her own capability of maintaining the integrity of her empire. But when the United States, not confining herself to just, or it may be unjust sympathy, not restrained to an opinion that Texas is or ought to be an independent people, makes herself an active and principal party, by taking hold of the province in controversy, thus forever making it impossible for Mexico to recover the country, which up to that time, was but partially or temporarily in her view alienated from her: then I say that Mexico has not only just cause of war, but that she would be disgraced in the eyes of all gallant nations, if she did not use her every power for the vindication of her injured honor, and violated territory. Learned authority has been quoted here with the vain expectation of persuading us that Mexico has no cause of grievance in the event supposed. I dare not insult common sense by acquiescence in such mysterious jurisprudential jargon as this. I appeal to the reason, to the instincts, to the consciences of men, for the establishment of the law of nature, upon which the laws of nations are, or ought to be forever based. What, sir, have we a solemn treaty of amity with Mexico, to say nothing at present of natural right, and is it the part of friendship to seize with a rapacious hand, a portion of the territory which she still claims, and appropriate it to ourselves? Do not these learned jurists know that a breach of treaty is contrary to the laws of nations, as laid down by all the writers upon that most obscure science, and without reparation, just cause of war! And what reparation could we make, whilst we continue to hold the price of blood and violated faith? What war was more unjust than that carried on by the United States against the Florida Indians? Suppose, at some time after its commencement, Mexico had agreed with the Indians, that they were, as they declared themselves to be, free and independent; and suppose Mexico had subsequently thereto, thus addressed us: "You have expended forty millions of dollars, you have lost a white man for every Indian slain in battle, you have called to your aid bloodhounds in vain, to the horror of all Christendom; for eight years you have with the whole force of the empire, carried on a hopeless war of recovery; it is time hostilities should cease; we will take the Floridas ourselves, peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must." I shall not stop to ask whether we should have deemed this a just cause of war, or to say what would have been our laconic reply. Cases have arisen, and will doubtless again arise, which, when a people are struggling to throw off an unjust and tyranical rule, have, and will again justify a virtuous nations, even when in alliance with the tyrant, in sympathizing with, and recognizing the independence of the oppressed. Here the rectitude of the motive and just cause of the injured, cure and sanctify the breach of the treaty of amity. But when Texas is the wrong-doer, and Mexico the injured party—here, where not even studiously disguised motives, wearing the semblance of virtue, but shameless and openly avowed rapacity, impel us to the breach of faith and the disregard of natural right: she will not only, and ought not only to declare war against us, but she will justly claim the universal sympathy and aid, of all nations, to enable her to vindicate her desecrated soil and insulted sovereignty.

The wrongs of Mexico, the wishes of Texas, the armed arbitrament of other nations aside, the case is still far from being stripped of its embarrassments. It matters not so much what other men may think of us, as that we may think well of ourselves—happy, happy indeed, are they who condemn not themselves. If we had our own consent, and also the consent of the North to this annexation, still I deem it questionable whether Texas, as a free State, could constitutionally be admitted into this Union. I do not deny that the necessity of the case, the dread alternatives of war, might not, under the treaty-making power, compel us to cede away, or to acquire territory. Whether the provinces of Louisiana and Florida, were acquired constitutionally or not, I shall not, at this late day, undertake to question. They were admitted, however, by the sovereign proprietor's consent; one of them lying around the mouth of the Mississippi river, threatened with eternal embarrassment, the trade of the whole valley of the West; no breach of violated national faith was insinuated; no disastrous wars threatened; and yet, able jurists, and patriotic statesmen, denied the constitutionality of the acquisition, and threatened its ratification with resistance and dissolution.

But where is the necessity for the annexation of Texas—even if she desired it—even if Mexico did not denounce war—even if there was no violation of national faith—even if she was not a slave State—where, I ask, is that overwhelming necessity which generates a power not given the Constitution nor anticipated by its authors? It is not territory that we want; our wide unoccupied domain stretches from the Mississippi to the far Pacific: we have already more land than we are able to defend from savage incursion and British usurpation. "We want more slave States to offset the fanatical free States." Let the world hear it: you admit, sir, that we want Texas to extend slavery among men. Unutterable emotions agitate my bosom: I ask the charter of my liberty—of your liberty: I call upon the Declaration of American Independence, upon which it is founded—I invoke the spirit of freedom, which in the day of suffering and threatened despair, inspired its utterance, as solemn protests against this most unholy scheme. Shall we not blush to draw the veil which has hardly shielded us from the contempt and loathing of mankind, for proclaiming liberty and practising servitude; shall we no longer gull them by the hypocritical plea of necessity, the sole defense of tyrants! Anew, we incur the guilt of slavery, and are ready to do battle even unto death for its extension—then expunge from your annals the declaration of rights—repeal the law of '20, which makes the slave-trade piracy—down with the gibbet, and bind the laurel upon the brow of the suspended culprit—withdraw your fleet from the coast of Africa—tell Great Britain and the world that you have been enacting a solemn farce when you talked so loudly of liberty—that tyranny is the best government, and slavery is the truest liberty—that now, at last, you begin to be in earnest—fifty years' constraint wearies the impassive muscles of the most wooden face—you give it up—now you hold slavery sacred at home, and like the oriental prophet of Medina, you are ready to propagate your faith by fire and sword throughout the world—that henceforth and forever, your watchword shall be, "slavery or death." I care not for the precedents of the past. I declare that there is no power in the federal Constitution by which a slave State can be admitted into this Union. Slavery cannot exist by the law of nature; it cannot exist by act of Congress. Slavery did exist by the laws of the sovereign States; in the formation of the Constitution, they thus far retained their sovereignty, denying it to that extent to the creature of their united will; if they vested in Congress the power to make a slave, then they at the same time, yielded the power to unmake him. If then the Congress can make a slave State, she can unmake a slave State; and if she has that power, it is her bounden duty not to add new slave States to the Union, but to purge it immediately of this fatal disease, which threatens death to the liberties of the whole country.*

They who contend, then, for the admission of the slave State of Texas, are handling a two edged sword,—it cuts both ways; the assumption of such a power must, therefore, be abandoned at once and forever. The contemptible jargon, that slavery already existing in Texas, or other territory, acquired by conquest, purchase, or voluntary cession, by municipal law, Congress may form them into slave States, and admit them into the Union, is unworthy of consideration; it involves the absurdity of having the power to do through an agent, or indirectly, that which they cannot do directly, or of themselves. Nothing but sovereign power can make a slave; the moment a State, once having been independent, unites itself with this Union, at that moment its sovereignty is lost, and with it falls slavery at the same time. If the State about to be admitted, was originally a part of the territory of the United States, it never had any sovereignty, and of course never could have made a slave.

I repeat once more, that independent of article 5th of the amendment of the Constitution, slavery cannot exist by act of Congress—but when we there find the express language, "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law," all subterfuge is at an end—and the learned and unlearned must unite in one voice, there is no power under Heaven, whilst the Constitution remains inviolate, by which Texas, as a slave State, can be admitted into this Union. When gentlemen are driven from all their strongholds, having no ground to stand upon in making out a case of necessity, they at last come out with the old bugbear, which has been so often paraded up and down, with tin pans beating and cows' horns blowing, whenever any party ends are to be achieved, that it has ceased to attract even the passing boys, who are accustomed to shout after such unfamiliar shows—yes, England is the monster they would get at—and they are surprised, when this old enemy is in the field, that a military man like myself should be the last to come to the rescue.

Although in the eyes of some it be treason to say a kind or just thing about this haughty power, the brave cannot at last but honor the brave. I scorn to compliment myself indirectly, when I say that the greatest warriors are in the main, the staunchest friends of peace; the man who intends to run away, cares not how soon the battle may come on; but he who has determined to die or conquer, will be slow in seeking the fight. Soult and Wellington are said to resist the warlike spirit of their people; and the correspondence of Scott and the governor-general of New Brunswick during the difficulties on the Maine border, is an honor to them and to their respective nations. In a bad cause a woman may put me to flight, but plant me upon the right, and I am proud to say, the man does not live whom I dare not look in the face.

If we conquered in the war of Independence, it was not because of our physical strength: with Lord Chatham, I say that England in a good cause could have crushed America to atoms. It was the consciousness of justice which nerved our people in the hour of trial. Yes, it was the right in which we conquered; it was the right that called the gallant of all lands to our standard: it was the right which made the veteran British lion, who had traversed the world unscathed, at last crouch in dishonor before the unfledged bird of Jove. It was the glorious principles of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, inscribed on our banners, which, like the letters of fire on the Babylonian wall, struck terror into the enemies of our country.

But in this war which you are madly projecting, this inspiring banner will not be borne, alas, by us, but by them. Go tell the six hundred thousand free laborers of my gallant State, before they leave home, wife, children, and friends, before they shoulder their musket and march afar, to shed on the plains of Texas their blood for the extension of slavery, to ask themselves what they are to gain? When they lie bleeding and dying on the burning sands of a foreign country, or writhing in the deadly grasp of the terrible epidemics of the swamps of Florida and Louisiana, what maddening reflections will then await them—the blood of our sires has been shed in vain, the Constitution has been violated, the Union has been dissolved, our homes have been desolated, our wives and children have become outcasts and beggars, our country is lost;—all nature fades fast from our dim reluctant eyes, we sink unwept into dishonored graves, accursed of God and man; if our cause triumphs, the sighs and tears of millions enslaved will mar the fruits of victory; but if it fails, as seemingly it must, then have the chains which we have forged for others become the heritage of our posterity forever.

No, Mr. President, it cannot be. If the worst comes to the worst, and the Union shall be dissolved, I, for one, will join my destiny with the North. Here, in Kentucky, my mother earth, I shall stand unawed by danger, unmoved by denunciation, a living sacrifice to her best prosperity: I shall not fear death itself, if she may but live. But if mad counsels shall press her on to ruin, and she shall prefer destruction to the relinquishment of her idols, then, and not till then, taking up my household gods, an unwilling exile, I shall, in other lands, seek that liberty which was hopeless in my native home. I would to God, that my voice could this day reach every log cabin in this wide and lovely land; then, indeed, would I feel assured that this dread alternative could never happen; but my words are feebly echoed from these walls, and the press is sealed like the apocalyptic books, which human power cannot open, and darkness broods over the land once more, till God himself shall say, let there be light!

Gentlemen, I know, flatter themselves that there will be no dissolution of the Union. In 1803, and in 1820, we are told there was the same loud talk that there is now, about a separation—that it will wear away once more as it did then. "It is natural for man to indulge in the illusions of hope; we are apt to shut our eyes against the painful truth and to listen to the voice of that syren, till she has transformed us into beasts." Alas! that these lines of other days, made familiar by schoolboy declamation, should rush back upon the memory with their primitive awful energy. I know the North: at least they are in earnest. Twenty of her leading minds, her ablest, most patriotic citizens, have most solemnly declared in the face of men, that in the event of the annexation of Texas to this country, the Union shall be no more. Yes, sir, they have said it—depend upon it they will do what they say they will do. Since the time, when in the vindication of the law of 1833, I found it necessary, in order to prevent the flood of southern blacks from desolating our State, to appeal to the first great principles of natural and American law, to sustain my policy against blind and maddened avarice, I have received from all parts of the Union, letters and papers upon the vital subject of slavery, and I think I know as much about the true feelings of northern men, as any other man in Kentucky.

They are divided into three parties upon the subject of slavery. First, there is a small band of abolitionists, who are for violence, if necessary, in the extermination of slavery. They are few, indeed, and deserve, as they receive, the execration of good men in both the North and in the South. Then come the liberty party, embracing a large portion of the virtue, intelligence, and legal knowledge, the Christianity and patriotism of the North. Taking the ground first occupied by Washington himself, that slavery was the creature of the law and should be abolished by law, they appeal to the ballot-box, not the bayonet; like the great Irish reformer, having faith in the power of reason, truth, and virtue, they expect to achieve a bloodless revolution, more glorious than any yet arising from force and arms. This party, a few years ago, numbered but seven thousand voters, now, in 1843, they poll sixty-five thousand men at the ballot-box; having doubled themselves every year from the time of their organization. At such a continued rate of increase, I leave it to the reflecting to determine how long it will be before they absorb the whole political power of the North. Lastly, there is the great mass of northern men, who are opposed to slavery in principle, but who forbear to take any active part for its removal: not because they do not feel many of its evils, but because they fear the consequences of entering upon untried scenes, preferring, in the language of the oft-repeated maxim, to bear the ills they have rather than fly to others they know not of. Then there remains a fragment of men, who are shameless advocates of slavery, with a perverse nature, such as inspires the unworthy bosoms of convicts, they pride themselves upon pre-eminence in guilt, and challenge the abhorrence of mankind to elevate them to that notoriety which they have despaired of obtaining by virtuous deeds. In estimating northern feelings, I shall pass them over entirely, as in speaking of the morals of Kentuckians, I would not enter the penitentiary for illustration: so in speaking of the North, I mention not these men, regarding them rather as those reprobates, whom God in his vengeance has inflicted upon all nations, and who are peculiar to none.

Then, sir, these twenty men, at whose head stands the immortal name of ADAMS, of whom I have before spoken, are the true exponents of the sentiments of the great mass of northern freemen, and of course, also to that extent of the two fragmentary parties which I have enumerated. You know the opinions of those men—they have avowed them in Congress—they are before the world. They say that slavery, not content with the immunities allowed it in the original compact, has transcended its assigned limits, and recklessly trenches upon the liberties of the North, through a violated Constitution. They complain that the right of petition is denied—that the freedom of speech and of the press is suppressed—that members of Congress are censured for opinion's sake—that the post-office is wrested by violence from the purposes of its creation. They are outraged, that their colored citizens, cooks, sailors, and others, contrary to the express language of the Constitution, instead of being allowed the privileges of citizenship, are thrown into prison, and deprived of their rights without just cause. They are indignant that her free white citizens are horribly murdered in the South for opinion's sake, without having violated any State or national law, or without having been tried by a jury of their peers, which is their unalienable right. They are disaffected, that the most solemn treaties of the United States should be nullified by the extention of the laws of Georgia over the Cherokee nation, and by which, the missionaries, free citizens of the North, were thrown into prison, and there kept, contrary to law, and in disregard of the Supreme Court of the Union. They are aggrieved at the cause and progress of the Florida war, by which forty millions of dollars have been taken from the hard earnings of the people—by which many thousand valuable lives have been sacrificed by disease and the Indian rifle—by which our national honor was tarnished in the employment of bloodhounds, to drive the unoffending savages from the homes of their fathers, which were their rightful inheritance, all of which they attribute to the sole cause of saving runaway slaves from fleeing into those impassable swamps. They are solemnly of opinion, that of right, no new slave State could have been admitted into this Union. They believe that there is no good reason why slaves, held as property, should be represented in Congress, to the exclusion of all other property, and that justice, as well as their own interest, calls for a change in the Constitution, so as to destroy this inequality. They are opposed to the continuance of slavery in the District of Columbia, and in the territories, and to the impunity of the coasting and the domestic slave-trade. "Annex Texas," say they, "and slavery will acquire such strength as to destroy the remnant of liberty that yet lingers in the North and in the South." All these grievances they have reluctantly borne for the peace, harmony, and permanency of the Union, bought by the common blood of our ancestors. Should the South, now anew, violate the Constitution for the sole purpose of extending slavery, they are not the true descendants of the men of Lexington and Bunker's Hill, if they do not part from slavery and its ruinous consequences at once and forever. And because I will not shut my eyes to the danger which threatens us with immediate dissolution—because I dare to speak fearlessly the truth: holding with Jefferson, that there is no error so dangerous that it may not be successfully combatted with reason and argument—because I will not, for popular favor, prove a renegade from the faith of my ancestors—because I will not, for the sake of office and political promotion, prostitute myself to the basest and most dishonorable purposes, by denying in public, what in private, every one who is not a madman, daily acknowledges to be utterly false, that "slavery is a blessing"—because I am willing to allow that the six hundred thousand free white citizens of this commonwealth have some rights as well as we slaveholders—I am to be run down as an abolitionist, and the ban of the empire is to be denounced against me. I cannot write an answer to a complimentary letter from Mr. GIDDINGS, of Ohio, but I am published throughout the land as an enemy to my country. And when, in the New-York Tribune, I set forth my true position, and in the defense of which, I challenge both North and South to shake me, my letter is denied publication in the presses of both political parties; and yet still goes on the eternal prating about the *freedom of the press;* sycophantic speeches are daily poured into the ears of the *dear people, whilst that same people are barred by despotic intolerance from receiving any light by which they can know their rights, and free themselves from the competition of slave labor, which brings ignorance and beggary to their doors.* I appeal to mankind against such fiendish injustice. If public opinion be indeed omnipotent, then let its thunders strike terror into the faithless sentinels on the watch tower of liberty—the false prophets who have basely usurped the tripods of the press.* To say that I am an abolitionist, in the sense in which the enemies of all moral progress would have you believe, that I would sanction insurrection and massacre: my wife, children, mother, brothers and sisters, and relations and friends are all hostages for my sincerity, when restraining myself to the use of courteous terms, I repel the unjust and dishonoring imputation. That I am an abolitionist in the sense that I would take away, without just compensation, the rights of property in slaves, which the laws secure to me, and to some thirty or forty thousand citizens of Kentucky, my letter to the Tribune, which is before the world, disproves.

Still, sir, I am an abolitionist. Such an abolitionist as I have been from my boyhood—such an abolitionist as I was in 1836, when I declared in my place in the House of Representatives, to which I was just then eligible, that if the Constitution did not give us power to protect ourselves against the infernal slave-trade, that I renounced it, and would appeal to a convention for a new one. Such an abolitionist as I was again in 1840, when I declared, in the same House of Representatives, that I wished to place the State of Kentucky in such a position, by sustaining the law of 1833, that she could move at any time she thought it conducive to her highest interests, to free herself from slavery. Such an abolitionist as I have ever avowed myself in public speeches and writings to the people of this district, that if Kentucky was wise enough to free herself from the counsels of pro-slavery men, that slavery would perish of itself, by the voluntary action of masters, and the irresistable force of circumstances which would convince the people to the use of free instead of slave labor, as every way most advantageous. Such an abolitionist as were the band of immortal men who formed the federal Constitution, who would not have the word "slave" in that sacred instrument, am I. Such an abolitionist as Washington, who, so far from lending countenance to the propagation of slavery, as you are now doing, declared that on all proper occasions his influence and his vote should be cast for the extinguishment of slavery among men, am I also. Such an abolitionist as was Jefferson, the great father of democracy, whom you all profess to follow, who foretold what has since partially come to pass, that slavery, if not destroyed, would jeopardize and finally extinguish the whites themselves: who foresaw with an unerring glance that the slavery of the black race, if not remedied by the whites, would at last remedy itself—such an abolitionist am I also. And being such, I take issue with the opinion which has been here to-day, as it has been often elsewhere, most dogmatically advanced that the question is, "whether the whites shall rule the blacks, or the blacks shall rule the whites." Such an assumption is false in theory, false in practice, and so proven to be false by all experience. It is derogatory to human nature, and blasphemy against God himself.

All America, except Brazil and the United States, have freed their slaves; and are all the whites slaves in consequence? At the revolution, on the day of the Declaration of Independence, all the States held slaves, not excepting Massachusetts. Now there are thirteen non-slaveholding States; are those ten millions of northerners, slaves? Great Britain, in conjunction with all Europe, except the miserable anarchies of Spain and Portugal, has long since emancipated many slaves; and now, in the year 1843, to her honor be it spoken, having liberated thirty millions of her East India serfs, in all her wide domains, which touch on every sea, and embrace every clime under the whole heavens, there is not, nor indeed can be, a single slave; and is she enslaved? No; she has sense enough to know, and heart enough to feel, that it is justice, honor, and glory, which secure the liberties of a people, and make them invincible and immortal.

Do gentlemen take the absurd position, that one hundred and eighty thousand freed men could enslave Kentucky? West India emancipation proves that the great majority of freed men could be employed economically in the same offices at small wages, which they now fill; with perhaps more ease and safety than now exist. But should they prove turbulent, for which there would be no cause, and which no man in his senses believes would happen, and were I disposed to indulge in that vaunting spirit, which to-day has so powerfully infected us—with five thousand such troops as those I have the honor to command—to whom gentlemen have been pleased to allude in a manner so complimentary at my expense, I would undertake to drive from the State the assembled one hundred and eighty thousand in arms. They further tell us, with most reverential gravity, that "God has designed some men for slaves, and man need not attempt to reverse the decree; it is better that the blacks should be slaves, than the whites." This proposition, which I denounce as utterly false, passes away before the glance of reason, as the dew before a summer's sun.

I shall admit, merely for the sake of argument, that some men always have, and possibly will perform menial offices for the more fortunate. Let the law of nature or of God have its undisturbed action—let the performance of those offices be voluntary on the part of servants, and that beautiful harmony, by which the highest intellect is united, by successive inferior links to the lowest mind, will never be disturbed. The sensitive and highly organized and intellectual, will gradually rise from servitude to command; the stolid, the profligate, the insensible, and coarsely organized, will sink into their places; the law of God and enlightened freedom will still be preserved, and the greatest good to the greatest number be secured forever. But when by municipal law, and not by the law of fitness, which is the law of nature, not regarding the distinctions of morals, mind, or body, whole classes are doomed to servitude, when the intellectual, the sensitive, the foolish, the rude, the good, the bad, the refined, the degraded, are all depressed to one level, never more to rise forever; then comes evil, nothing but evil—like as from damned up waters or pent-up streams, floods, and explosions come slowly, but come at last—so nature mocks with temporary desolation at the obstacles man would oppose to her progress, and at length, moves on once more in all the untrammeled vigor and unfading loveliness which, from eternity was decreed. That the black is inferior to the white, I readily allow; but that vice may depress the one, and virtue, by successive generations, elevate the other, till the two races meet on one common level, I am also firmly convinced. Modern science, in the breeding and culture of other animals than man, has most fully proved this fact, while the ablest observers of man himself, all allow, that mental, and moral, and physical development transmit their several properties to the descendants—corroborating, by experience, the divine decree, that the virtues and the vices of the father shall be visited on the children, to the third and fourth generation. In the capitals of Europe, blacks have attained to the highest places of social and literary eminence. That they are capable of a high degree of civilization, Hayti daily illustrates. There we have lately seen a revolution, conducted in a manner that would do honor to the first people on earth, one of the avowed grounds of which was, that President Boyer neglected to secure general education to the people, a consideration that should make some of the States blush in comparison.—After the expulsion of the tyrant, they set about forming a more republican constitution, admitting the whites who had participated in their dangers and success, to all the rights of citizenship. If history be true, we owe to the Egyptians, said to be of the modern Moorish race, the arts and sciences, and our early seeds of civilization. How many centuries did it take to bring them to perfection? When we reflect how little time the negro race has been under the influence of other civilized nations, and the rapid progress they have made in an upward direction, we have no reason to treat them with that absurd contempt, which in both the eye of reason and religion, stands equally condemned. Why, then, I am taunted by both pro-slavery and anti-slavery men, do I hold slaves? Uninfluenced by the opinions of the world, I intend, in my own good time, to act, or not to act, as to me seems best, in view of all the premises. Yet, I thus far pledge myself, that whenever Kentucky will join me in freeing ourselves from this curse which weighs us down even unto death, the slaves I own she shall dispose of as to her seems best. I shall ask nothing in return, but the enhanced value of my land, which must ensue, gradually from the day that we become indeed a free State. I will go yet further; give me *free labor*, and I will not only give up my slaves, but I will agree to be taxed to buy the remainder from those who are unwilling or unable, consistently, with regard to pecuniary interest, to present them to the State; and then I shall deem myself and my posterity richer in dollars and cents even, than we were before.

But to return from this digression. We are told that England almost surrounds us, and that if we do not break away from her fatal grasp, our days are numbered; and to excite our patriotic indignation, we hear the taunt, that by our last treaty, territory was lost, and the country betrayed! Indeed! and where then were the swords which today are so restless in their scabbards? where were your indignation meetings, your chivalric defiance, your patriotic ardor? If we must meet England, let us meet her in defense of our western border—there let us vindicate our sullied honor; there, battling in the name of liberty and the right, let us not doubt, for a moment, on whose standard victory will perch. But no! you don't want to fight England. In Oregon are no titles in lands to be confirmed, no bonds to be redeemed, no plunder to be indulged, no slavery to be perpetuated. When miserable Mexico, exhausted by revolutionary and civil wars, was inundated by armed troops from the United States, marching from our very cities in open day, with colors flying, led on by land-mongers and bond-speculators, to violate the neutrality of a country at peace with us; whilst she protested and implored us, by the ties of republican sisterhood, to spare her—we answered her entreaties and just complaints, by sending General Gaines into (if necessary) her very borders, under pretense of guarding our own country, but in fact to aid in the rescue of Texas from the invading foe. But when the Canadians, inspired by sentiments of true liberty, invoked the God of battles and the sympathies of nations to her rescue from the British crown—that Britain who we are now told is about to seal us up hermetically—that Britain with whom we have had two exasperating wars—that Britain whom the gentlemen so much denounce, dared to come into the borders of the United States, and to cut out an American vessel lying in our own town, and to destroy the lives of American citizens, resting under the folds of the broad banner of the stars and stripes; and when McLeod, one of the perpetrators of the deed, was taken in our border, where he had tauntingly intruded himself, and held to answer for the murder, this same haughty Britain, defyingly assumed the responsibility, demanded his unconditional release, and denounced war as the consequence of refusal.

Where, then—where, I ask once more, was that military fervor which to-day would hurry us to battle? You heard not, then, the blood of our brother crying to us, from the ground, for vengeance! Silent as the still waters which had forever closed over our murdered countryman, you opened not your mouth! Aye, more yet—your major-general was sent in hot haste to the northern border, not like Gaines, to enter the enemy's country, but to keep the peace at home, lest England might not bear with your pitiable humility. Your attorney-general was hurried off to New-York, to guard, with all the inviolability of a great national officer, McLeod from harm. Your secretary continued to write frequent and explanatory letters to the British minister, anxiously protesting that the laws of New-York would no doubt release the prisoner after trial, which the general government, if they had the power, would immediately do. All this we had to bear, not because we were not indignant—not because we regarded ourselves as in the wrong—not because, whether right or wrong, at other times, we would not have hung McLeod as high as Haman. No—it was because we were unprepared, utterly unprepared for war; that although England stood single-handed against us, we pocketed the insult and the injury, and at last released the prisoner. And now, when these ten millions of northerners—they who cast our cannons, build and man our navy—who make our swords, and munitions of war—who are capable of inventing more infernal machines than the demon of war has yet dreamed of, and who have the iron nerve to use them—now, when they are not only not for us, but against us—now, when we are opposed, not to England single-handed, but to all Christendom, united with Mexico—now, when we are in a worse state of defense than before—now, in a manifestly bad cause, where we are losers, whether we stand or fall—now we are to be hurried into the miserable policy, only worthy of madmen, of seizing on Texas, and waging a general war! For one, I dare not, I will not do it. I pray you to consider this matter yet a little while longer; sleep on it a few nights, if sleep you can—scrutinize the admonition of an unerring conscience—see if it be a cause that you can pray for—a cause upon the justice of which you dare invoke the dread arbitrament of the God of battles. If it be not, desert it, now and forever—renew your vows upon the desecrated altars of an injured country—spurning all party trammels, trample into dust the black flag of war, slavery, and dissolution; and, from every housetop throughout this boundless empire, let there be thrown out, once more, the soul-cheering banner—"Liberty and Union, one and inseparable, now and forever."

---

* Since the publication of this speech, some of the presses have affected not to understand, or, what is worse, have willfully perverted and misrepresented the argument. The avowed object of the Constitution is, "to secure the blessings of liberty," (see preamble,) and another clause says, "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law," (article 5, amendments.) I take it for granted that blacks are "persons," for even black slaves are so called, in other parts of the Constitution; and that "without due process of law," means without some *offense*, which shall be ascertained by law. Now, if the federal government has only special delegated powers, and no others, then here is a special power to prevent slavery, and there is no special power to create slavery. If it has inherent and sovereign power, notwithstanding the clauses here quoted to the contrary, to create slavery, then it must have inherent and sovereign power also to destroy slavery; and the spirit of the whole instrument compels its exercise; and this seems to be an axiom which cannot be elucidated by argument. Whether, then, Congress be the organ of a sovereign, or of a limited will—the Constitution—it cannot, in either case, make a slave. If the laws of Congress are the supreme laws of the land, all State laws to the contrary, notwithstanding, much more, then, is the Constitution, forbidding "persons" to be "deprived of liberty," superior to any *territorial dependent State law!* The original thirteen sovereign States are only excepted, because they created the Constitution itself, and prohibited it by *implication* and *collateral clauses*, in that instrument, from abolishing slavery within their respective borders. I contend, then, that the original thirteen States had, and now have, *exclusive* control over slavery within their borders—that in all places where Congress had, or now has, exclusive control, where slavery did not previously exist by the sovereign power of the original thirteen States, there slavery does not and cannot now exist—that in no territory in this wide empire, is there now a slave—that the Supreme Court, under a writ of habeas corpus, is bound to liberate any person so claimed as a slave—that in the District of Columbia, Congress has the right to abolish slavery, by compensating masters—that the slaves therein are not now free *only* because of the laws of cession, emanating from the sovereignties of Virginia and Maryland, guaranteeing rights of owners to the same, till Congress should give compensation and liberation—that Texas, coming into the Union, loses, in the act, her sovereignty, and that slavery falls with it—that there is no power in Congress to revive it—and that henceforth and forever, the addition of slave States to this Union

THE MISSIONARY OF PRISONS.

We have several times alluded to Dorothea L. Dix, the American Mrs. Fry, who for three or four years past has devoted herself with wonderful energy to the improvement of public establishments for paupers and lunatics. Her memorial to the legislature of Massachusetts has already produced results extensively beneficial in that commonwealth. She has lately presented a very ably written memorial to the legislature of New-York, concerning the condition of the insane poor in several counties of this State. From this interesting document we make the following painful extracts:

Albany County Alms-house, at Albany, as I saw it in November, 1842, presented scenes of horrible neglect and misery which even now I shudder to recall; and I rejoice that a late visit in December, 1843, afforded evidence of many favorable changes, especially in the "dungeons," so called, and the "crazy cellar;" yet there, even now, one finds many friendless creatures, whose condition urges a sufficient and early provision, by the State, for their relief.

It was on the afternoon of a severely cold day in November of 1842, that I visited the alms-house at Albany. Inquiring of the master who held charge of the establishment, the number of the insane then in close confinement, I was answered, "There are plenty of them, somewhere about twenty." "Will you let me see them?" "No, you can't, they are naked, in the crazy cellar." "Are all in the same apartment?" "No, not all, but you can't see them." "Excuse me, but I must see the women's apartment. It is to learn the condition of the insane here, that I have come." At length, a direction was given, and I was conducted by the mistress of the house into a court-yard, and the person holding charge over the insane women, was summoned to attend me.

Ascending a flight of stairs, conducting from without, to the second story of a large building, I entered an apartment, not clean, not ventilated, and overheated; here were several females chiefly in a state of dementia; they were decently dressed, but otherwise exhibited personal neglect; the beds were sufficiently comfortable; the hot air, foul with noisome vapors, produced a sense of suffocation and sickness impossible to be endured by one unaccustomed to such an atmosphere. I delayed here but a few moments, and asked to be conducted to the dungeons; "dungeons?" repeated the attendant, eyeing me closely "Yes, I have heard there are dungeons here; I am in haste, oblige me by losing no time."

She still hesitated, when speaking more decidedly, I said, "I must go, friend, and that immediately;" whereupon she led the way over the outer staircase, across the common court-yard, and descended into a spacious cellar kitchen, crowded by a most disorderly and profane set of men, women, and children, emerged on the opposite side upon a yard enclosed by a high board fence, and opening on the left upon still another enclosed space, surrounding a wooden building. We here encountered the man who kept the keys of this place, and who appeared to have charge of the building. I do not hesitate to say that he was unfit for the office. I was told both these persons were "paupers from Canada," and their phraseology did not contradict the information. A noisy altercation ensued, made up of coarse oaths and expletives, unmatched, except in Newgate, or on Blackwell's Island. I again interposed, and at length induced the *turnkey* to produce his keys.

Detaining my first companion, I followed through the opened doors, and ascending a flight of steps, found myself in a passage not very narrow, on each side of which were "the dungeons" or cells. These were totally dark and unventilated, and there was *then* no provision for drying or warming them. To describe the scenes which were revealed, as these loathsome dens were successively thrown open, is impossible. Those who have read the reports of the hospital commissioners to the British parliament, exposing the condition of the wretched inmates of the private mad-houses in England, may conceive an idea of what existed in the alms-house at Albany a year since. The keeper unlocking the first door on the left, vociferated to the poor wretch there confined, "come out to the light and be seen." The horrible stench emitted from this dreadful place, compelled me repeatedly to retreat to the outer air, to recover from overpowering sickness.

When I could so far command myself as to observe this dungeon and its occupant, God forgive me, (if it was sinful,) the vehement indignation that rose toward the inhabitants of a city and county, who could suffer such abominations as these to exist;—toward all official persons holding direct or indirect responsibility, who could permit these brutalizing conditions of the most helpless of human beings, and toward a country ever vainglorious of its liberty, and of its civil, social, and religious institutions. I affirm that the dungeons of Spielberg and Chillon, and the prisons of the court of the inquisition before their destruction, afforded no more heart-rending spectacles than the dungeons (not subteranean) of the Albany alms-house, at the time referred to. Language is feeble to represent them, and the mind shudders with disgust and horror in the act of recalling the state of the unfortunate insane there incarcerated.

In the cell first opened was a madman; the fierce command of his keeper brought him to the door—a hideous object; matted locks, unshorn beard, a wild wan countenance, yet more disfigured by vilest uncleanness, in a state of entire nudity, save the irritating incrustations derived from that dungeon reeking with loathsome filth; here, without light, without pure air, without warmth, without cleansing, without *anything* to secure decency or comfort, here was a human being, forlorn, abject and disgusting, it is true, but not the less a human being—nay more, an immortal being, though now the mind had fallen in ruins, and the soul was clothed in darkness.

And who was he—this neglected, brutalized wretch—a burglar, a murderer, a miscreant, who, for base, foul crimes, had been by the justice of outraged laws, and the righteous indignation of his fellow-men, doomed to expiate offenses, by exclusion from his race, by privations and sufferings extreme, yet not exceeding, in measure, the enormities of his misdeeds? No, this was no criminal outcast, who was here festering in filth, wearing out the warp of life in dreariest solitude and darkness—no, this was no criminal, but "*only a crazy man!*" Of him, in the touching language of scripture, could it be said, "My brethren are far from me, and my acquaintance are verily estranged from me; my kinsfolk have failed, and my familiar friends have forgotten me; my bone cleaveth unto my skin and my flesh. Have pity upon me—have pity upon me, for the hand of God hath touched me!"

I turned from this miserable scene only to another yet more pitiable. A woman, of what age one could not conjecture, so disfigured was she by neglect and suffering, occupied a dungeon on the right. The keeper harshly summoned her "to come out," but she only moved feebly amidst the filthy straw which was the only furnishing of the place; her moans and low cries indicated both mental anguish and physical pain. In vain they tried to force her forward—she seemed powerless to raise herself upright; she, too, was unclothed; and here, alone, in sickness and want, with no pure air, no pleasant warmth, no light, (those unmeasured gifts of God, shared by "the good and evil, the just and unjust,") no friendly hand to chafe the aching limbs, no kind voice to raise and cheer—there she lay on that loathsome plank, miserable beyond words to represent.

I know nothing of her history, whether forsaken by able kindred, or reluctantly given over to the *public charity* by indigent parents, or taken in, a wandering, demented creature; I only know that I found and left her reduced to a condition upon which not one who reads this page could look but with unmitigated horror! Do you turn with inexpressible disgust from these details? Is your refinement shocked by such statements? There is but one remedy—prevent the possibility of such monstrous abuses, by providing hospitals and asylums where vigilant inspection and faithful care shall protect and minister to those who, as young, feeble infants, are helpless and unconscious; who, through the calamity of insanity, become in the most peculiar manner the charge of those whose "light has not gone out."

Turning from the dungeons, the keeper said, "come to the crazy cellar, you'll get noise enough there." I objected, that the master of the house had said they were in no condition to be visited. "Oh, come, he knows nothing about them. The woman there told him, three weeks ago, that the dungeons were too cold for those people you saw, but he's forgot all about them—he's something else to think of—come, this is the way." I hesitated; but the idea that possibly I might learn facts which should lead to a change for the sufferers, led me on; reaching the cellar—within which, just then, all was quiet—the keeper entered, and "for the sake of exercise," began by knocking one down, and so went on to rouse the whole company. There were twelve or fourteen men here, sufficiently clothed for decency—some extended on the floor, others *chained to their beds*—all exhibiting a disgusting and miserable appearance; in an adjoining apartment were others in like circumstances. In March last, some gentlemen visited this same cellar, and returned, expressing horror that "such things could be tolerated, or that they ever could have existed in any civilized country."

I revisited this county house a few weeks since; there had been a change of masters. The present overseer evidently has qualifications which enable him to secure a very improved order of things throughout the establishment; he has to contend against the great defects of the present system, and prominent evils must of course exist. Five hundred paupers, of every age, and various conditions, (a large proportion of these are able-bodied foreigners, who here are idle for want of work, which the county does not provide, as well as idle in many cases from choice,) compose this family, or rather community. Considering the very crowded state of the house, and all the difficulties to be encountered, a surprising degree of order and cleanliness is *now* secured. But inevitably, this is a soil where the vices will take root and flourish.

I visited "the dungeons," and found but two females in confinement there; by comparison, only, could they be called comfortable. A stove is now placed in the passage; I cannot say it seemed to afford any great advantage to the insane in the cells; in these apartments were bunks, beds, and bed-clothing. The apparel was slight, and required attention; but the fact is, the inmates ought to be transferred to a hospital where they can receive appropriate care. In the crowded "crazy cellar," I found improved accommodations, better beds, &c. One man, "poor George," had just deceased, and his coffin was borne past as I stood at the entrance of this dreary place; surely the angel of death here performed a most blessed ministration. Several men were chained to the beds or the floor; a general quiet prevailed. I noticed that the master, "our boss," was welcomed as a friend; and no doubt, so far as he had the power, the condition of these friendless insane was made comfortable. The time has past, however, for society to sanction such provision for this class of the poor.

Communications.

LETTERS ON SLAVERY, ADDRESSED TO AMERICAN WIVES AND MOTHERS.

BY H. M. TRACY.

"Are not woman's pulses warm,
Beating in the anguished breast?
Is it not a sister's form,
On whose *limbs* these fetters rest?
Oh then save her from her doom,
Worse than all that ye may bear,
Let her pass not to the tomb,
Midst her bondage and despair."

LETTER VII.

(*Conclusion.*)

The condition of the slave mother is one which every free wife and mother can bring home to her own bosom. Nature, though grievously outraged, is still the same while consciousness remains. The wife of the slave, though uncultivated, and of course often wanting in those delicate sensibilities which thrill the hearts of the more refined, is nevertheless, strongly, often passionately, devoted to her companion. True, he is not what a freeman should be, a shield to her virtue, a defender of her rights, her support in sickness, her stay in age; for he may not devote his life to her happiness. This, however, is not his fault. It is not his idleness and dissipation that clothes his little ones in rags, and leaves them without a comfortable shelter from the heat of summer and the inclemency of winter. He is a mutual sufferer, and as such he is regarded by his companion.

If there is one holy tie around human hearts, it is that which connects the family circle. How sacred should we consider the bond that unites husband and wife, making them one in heart, one in purpose. How often do we see an amiable woman, clinging with the deepest devotion to one who has little save affection to recommend him to her esteem. She overlooks his weakness, disregards his defects, and even is blinded to most serious faults, so long as she can confide in his affection. He may fall a martyr to his crimes against others, yet her love is unshaken. She will fearlessly follow him to the most gloomy dungeon, share with him every privation that human nature can endure, sustained by this single passion.

And think you that nature is so easily overcome, that the companion of the slave heartlessly parts from her husband, regardless that their separation must in all probability, be final? How should we feel, if *our* companions were to be violently torn from our homes and placed under the absolute authority of men who would regard them as property, and treat them as though they had no rights. Add to this, the almost certain expectation that they would be made to suffer most excruciating tortures, if in the least disobedient to the tyrant's wishes; and perhaps be made to suffer even death itself, while laboring for the sole good of others, without one honorable motive to lighten the uncompensated toil. Could you look calmly on, and feel that you suffered no injustice? Would no sigh escape, no tear proclaim your anguish, no despair sit on your features? The wife of a slave is ever subject to such unrighteous bereavements. Has she then no claim to your sympathies as wives? Is there no burden for you to assist in removing? If these considerations are not enough to move you, she has yet other claims. Like you she is a mother; but not like you, is she exempted from severe toil, from unnecessary suffering, from want and from exposure. She is a mother, but who can paint her trials, who delineate her unnumbered woes! See her in want of everything that constitutes our comfort. Yet this would be accounted but little if she toiled in hope.

But what can be the *hope* of the slave mother? That her daughters shall grow up around her like tender plants, the ornaments of her home, the pride and joy of her heart, virtuous, beloved, and admired? That her sons shall go forth in the strength and pride of manhood, winning glory and renown, by their talents and virtues! O, mockery, to mention these in connection with the lot of the wretched slave! She knows full well that the dear objects of her maternal solicitude, are destined to share her own unhappy lot. In anticipation she sees them bending to their unpaid toil, writhing beneath the lash, and sinking in helpless hopeless agony, with no kind hand to relieve their wants, no gentle heart to pity their wrongs; her daughters given up a prey to the spoiler, her sons, crushed, degraded bondmen.

Gather your little flock around you, and say, free mother, which of your children will you place in the room of that slave's? Look at them with all a mother's tenderness, and feel that one must go, and say if your heart is still unstirred. If so, take your happy family, go in spirit to the market where human beings are sold, and take your place with the toil-worn slave. See your husband, your children, sold one by one to the highest bidder, remorselessly scattered to the four winds of heaven and at last your tender infant torn from your breast, and yourself consigned to a distant State. Then receive the shackles on your own limbs, and at last be chained with some equally wretched victim, while beneath the brandishing lash, you pursue your weary way through a land of *professing* freemen. Think you no burning thoughts would fill your brain? Would no deep imprecations of retributive vengeance escape your lips? Yet this is the lot of the slave mother. True, every one may not suffer all this; for the interest of her master may not demand it. But no one is secured against a similar fate, while thousands annually do suffer thus. This is the work of the internal slave-trade, which Congress has the undoubted right to prohibit. The slave is dumb; she may not even petition our government for a redress of her many wrongs. To us, if not to her, this right is, at present, secured by our national constitution. I know it has been vilely trampled on by our legislators; but this should only rouse us to more vigorous exertions. It is time for them to feel that they are only the servants of a free people, not the lordly dictators of submissive minions.

Let every mother raise her cry in unison with the captive, that the hour of deliverance may speedily come. Let it be our part to awaken the land, to arouse the hearts of all who have the least power to act. I have often felt, and still feel, that I could fearlessly go among oppressors themselves, and boldly plead the cause of the oppressed, so strong is my desire for their emancipation. Blame me not, then, if I urge their claims repeatedly, and that with a boldness that might otherwise seem unbecoming. It is for rights that I plead, rights, which if wrested from *one* with impunity, may be wrested from *all*.

But there is one more consideration that I wish to lay before my country-women before I leave them. That is, the danger that actually threatens our land from the continuance of the system. All who reason calmly upon the effects of oppression, must see that it tends to create perpetual distrust on the part of the injurer and the injured. We never really love those whom we constantly injure; and our consequent behaviour will lead us to feel, that they can never confide in us. Of course a feeling of distrust arises, which is fully returned by him who has so much cause to feel that his injurer is his foe.—Now, though this state of things may continue for years in a community like ours without any serious general outbreak, yet the materials for destruction are in fearful readiness for execution, whenever a sufficient exciting cause shall occur. The nation is in constant jeopardy by the continuance of such a state of things. The statesmen of the South have declared that it was slumbering over a volcano. Look at the daring plot of Murrell, detected a few years since, which, if consummated, would have led to the destruction of thousands. Such occurrences are to be looked for when labor is disgraceful, slavish; and where, consequently many must subsist by dishonest means. All cannot inherit wealth; and where it is not reputable to labor, vice will prevail to a fearful extent.

Ignorance, too, will follow in the train; for the mass of slaveholders are not so situated that they can easily educate their children, unless they procure private teachers. There are many individuals among them who are highly distinguished by their literary attainments; but the mass of the people remain in comparative ignorance. The latest returns from the several States, show a large proportion of free citizens who are unable to read throughout the slave States. Compare this with the general intelligence that pervades the North. Is this state of things desirable or safe. Who would wish to see our nation stripped of its glory by the prevalence of such a system?

There is another point, too, from which we may look for danger. England has emancipated her slaves. She has not always been our friend; neither from her position is it to be expected that her present pacific relation will be always sustained. She has now an advantage over us that cannot be overlooked. There exists a strong sympathy between the emancipated colonists and our slaves. They feel that they are brethren. If once enlisted in war against us, we must expect them to feel deeply the wrongs of the oppressed, and to fight manfully for their deliverance.

Who can paint the horrors that must ensue, if Great Britain were to offer freedom to all who would rally round her standard? It is in our power to avert such a state of things. The slaves, if made free, by our generous exertions, would be our lasting friends, and firmest allies. All past experience shows this.

Our venerable grandfathers, in the days of the revolution, felt that they had much to do in arousing, encouraging, and sustaining those who fought the battles of our country. Have we less to do in securing its prosperity? Have we less love for our native land?

But all these are slight, weak, inducements, compared with those heavenly motives which should arouse the heart of the Christian to action. Our fathers felt that they suffered political grievances; but however great the principle involved, *personal* freedom was not violated. We justly consider our political rights sacred, but chiefly so because they are a means of securing more fully our individual rights. But we see that all rights are denied the slave. It is not, that he is compelled to contribute more than his proportion to the support of the State, nor is it that he suffers some small amount of personal inconvenience, that leads the friends of humanity to plead in his behalf. It is that the very soul is crushed, the divinity in man is sought to be annihilated. It is that the likeness of God is trampled in the dust, the redeeming blood of Jesus counted a thing of naught. Are not these inducements sufficient to arouse every mother in the nation to plead earnestly, to labor unceasingly, to put forth constant, vigorous, and untiring efforts? If we do not labor for the accomplishment of this great object, we may rest assured that it will ultimately prevail; for it is of God, and must prosper. "For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the Lord, I will set him in safety from him that puffeth at him."

RIGHTS OF WOMEN.

The following is from a youth, but it contains sentiments so good, and so indicative of progress in young America, that we are unwilling to suppress them, though they are not set off by faultless composition:

In attempting an essay on the rights of women, in reply to one which was read at a late meeting of the Lyceum, I cannot but feel my own inability to do justice to the subject. "The views embraced in the piece enclosed," says the writer, (referring to an extract from a newspaper,) "are so consonant to my own, that I cannot avoid sending them to the Lyceum; and I think nine-tenths of that portion of the society who generally occupy the west side of the hall, will endorse them as correct—true or untrue." He thinks that if the opinions expressed in the printed article "did not generally prevail, there would be more bachelors in the world;" for, says he, "there are few men who would submit to be controlled by their *better halves*, when such control is claimed as a right." He seems to abhor the idea of women controlling men, and at the same time holds it up as a right for man to command, and a duty for women to obey. If one extreme is objectionable, the other must be equally so. If men are not willing to submit, is it not unjust and tyrannical to compel women to submit? Is this carrying out the golden rule? "Whatsoever ye would that others should do unto you, do ye even so unto them." It appears to me, that if he be a Christian, he is compelled to acknowledge the equality of the sexes, at least in the abstract, if not prepared to advocate the practical application of those principles. But the sentence goes further, and says man will not submit, "when submission is claimed as a right;" in other words, that a woman has no rights by nature, but that all are only privileges granted to her by the condescension of her natural superior. This is too absurd and ridiculous to be dwelt long upon. I blush for my sex, when I see them exercising control over their natural equals, and claiming superiority over their own wives, daughters, sisters, and mothers; and endeavoring to reconcile their claim with natural justice, and the Christian precepts. Are we not all immortal beings? Are we not all responsible for our acts? Where, then, is there anything which is a duty for man, which is not equally a duty for woman? If our duties as rational, intelligent beings, are equal, are not our rights equal also? How can it be otherwise? But, says the objector, it would corrupt them, to mingle with the excitement of the world. For instance, it would corrupt their morals, and destroy their finer feelings, to go to the polls and vote; but does it not equally corrupt the morals, and destroy the finer feelings of men, as elections are at present conducted? Is there any more harm in corrupting a woman, than a man? Again he says, the men are already corrupted. Admitting them to be so, where is the force of the argument? May we not as justly, according to this mode of reasoning, deprive all who have not yet arrived at the age of manhood, of those rights of citizenship which belong to them, when they arrive at a certain period of life, lest they should become corrupted.

But to return to the essay. "Let her, in the retired position assigned her by the *gospel*, be satisfied with her legitimate and proper influence, and she may appear the superior in everything praiseworthy, without exciting jealousy, and without dispute." I would like to know what he means by "the retired position assigned her by the gospel;" because, so far as I understand the gospel, it makes no distinction in sex, but acknowledges universal equality among the whole human race. It is true that the apostle Paul declared that "man is the head of the woman," and that "wives should submit themselves unto their husbands," &c. But is the opinion of Paul, or any other human being, necessarily the gospel? I look upon the gospel as coming from a higher source than the mere opinion of any man, or set of men; it has a more heavenly origin; it flows from the bosom of God himself. There is a standard of right, which is eternal, and unchangeable, notwithstanding the variety of individual opinion, the jarring of sects, and the conflicts of religious bigots. Admit, for the sake of argument, that the apostle's doctrine is right, does it follow that the command, "wives, submit yourselves to your husbands," means that men are superior, and have a right to exercise control over their wives, and that it is duty for them to submit? If so, the command, "slaves, be obedient unto your masters," justifies slavery. It also justifies one man in hating another, because we are commanded "to do good to them that hate us;" in being an enemy, because we are commanded "to love our enemies;" in cursing, because we are commanded to "bless them that curse us;" in taking away our coat, because we are commanded "to give our cloak, also," &c. &c. Instead of proving that she is inferior, and that man has a right to exercise control over her, it proves that she is his equal; that her salvation was cared for as much as his; that she was commanded to submit patiently, for her own good, and not exclusively for that of her would-be "*lord and master.*" But let us look to the right source, and see what position was assigned her by the gospel; let us appeal to the precepts and doctrines of the Saviour himself. We find him continually proclaiming in the ears of his followers, the universality of the doctrines he came to promulgate; he made no distinction of sex; we find him sending forth male and female, on errands of mercy; we read of a woman calling on her husband, (not calling him "lord,") and her countrymen, to "come see a man, which told me all things that ever I did," It was woman, too, that first preached his resurrection to his disciples, and in Jerusalem. Well was it said by the poet, "that she was last at the cross, and the first at his sepulchre." The position then assigned her by the gospel, was just the position assigned to man. Let both sexes assume this position, which is no more retired in one, than the other; then will that gospel bring (as was declared) "glad tidings of great joy to *all* people;" then, indeed, will it have fulfilled its heavenly mission to the human race.

Again, the writer says, "When she leaves the moral and gentle means of exercising control, and assumes to command, she must always expect to find a master;" thus representing man as a cruel tyrant, acting from resentment and caprice—always commanding, but never willing to obey. But this should be no more the case with one, than the other sex; because, if either leaves the mild and gentle mode of influencing a fellow-being, and resorts to compulsion, it stirs up the worst feelings of our nature. If, by a woman's "assuming to be a man," her co-operation in the work of moral reform, the storing of her mind with the treasures of literature, science, and philosophy; the claiming an equality, and a moral determination to maintain her own rights as a human being, responsible for her acts to God alone; if this is what he means by "assuming to be a man," and "transcending her sphere," he will find, by more reflection and experience, that this is only the beginning, on her part, to enter "the great sphere of action to which she is called." If she is possessed of those superior virtues, which the author has accorded to her; if she is "the weakest vessel, and yet the strongest;" if she can "hold his arm nerveless, as the arm of a child;" if she "has power to make him lie at her feet like a lion tamed;" here is a virtue which should not be confined within the narrow "circle of home, but should shed its benign influence throughout the whole circle of human relations." This irresistible power, that can "hold his arm nerveless," should be applied to governments; it should hold every legislative assembly in check, until they legislate justly; and her appeals should never cease to ring in the ears of the nation, until every wrong-doer shall be as "a tamed lion, powerless at her feet," and righteousness become triumphant.

Again he says, "Submission is unquestionably her duty, where he chooses to command, and has power to enforce it." The sentiment in this quotation, and the whole piece, belong, undoubtedly, to the ages of barbarism; the present period of the world's history cannot own them. What an assumption of tyrannical power! shamelessly avowing that might makes right! Carry this doctrine a little further, to cases equally applicable. On the same ground, one man is justifiable in robbing another, because he is stronger; in oppressing another, because he has the power to do so; and so on, throughout the whole chapter of outrage and crime. But "he will go to church with her, and freely put his hand in his pocket to supply her charities." What liberality! what unlimited benevolence! Great credit is it to him, after he has robbed her of her just rights, as an equal partner! What right has he to boast of his benevolence in supplying her charities! when he has monopolized the wealth which belongs to both—when he has deprived her of every means of supplying her own, and made her his mere dependent—compelled to look to him for all she enjoys. The law clothes him with power to rob her of her possessions. While he can take charge of, and devote to whatever purpose he pleases, her wealth, she has not, in any case, or under any circumstance, the enjoyment of the same right. It is true that the law makes some provision for her, after it throws her *all* into the hands of her "lord." He is bound and stands accountable for the debts she may contract; but look, for a moment, at the degraded position in which she is placed—a mere thing, instead of an equal, formed in the image of a common Creator, and placed "but a little lower than angelic intelligences." Can a people, professing to love freedom, and to revere the Christian name, give their countenance much longer to laws founded in justice and wrong, making distinctions where God has made none, and giving one human being the power to usurp the rights of another?

"But let her assume the tone of a dictator, and of masculine command; let her prate of 'woman's rights,' and write a code of laws to define them, anywhere but in the heart, and she appears shorn of her locks, which are her ornament; she abjures her womanhood, she affects the man, and must *contend* with men." "Assume the tone of a dictator" of what? of right, of justice, and of truth—and with a masculine dignity defend her injured sex, and "prate of rights" long trampled in the dust? Is this what divests her of her locks, which are her ornament? Is this "abjuring her womanhood?" If this is what he means, instead of appearing "shorn of her locks," new lustre is spread over her character; she is crowned with new laurels, which will remain fadeless through all eternity. She will appear in all the dignity and grandeur of an independent soul, unshackled by the galling chains of prejudice, and untrammeled by the coils of social despotism. Well may "she affect the man, and contend with men," in all the conflicts of right and wrong, holiness and sin; well may she exert the powers with which God has endowed her, in the holy cause of truth and love; well may she, in all the dignity of human nature, in all the boldness of masculine command, call upon the wrong-doer to cease to do evil—reprove guilt in high places, and expose the damning deeds of political and religious imposture and despotism. It is certainly within her sphere to "contend with men." "The paths of man and woman are not identical, but in a true order of society they must ever run side by side, start from the same goal, run the same length, and reach the same end."

Again: "Does she seek for happiness? where can she find it, but in a peaceful home? The wife was appointed to make a home for man—to form a centre for his affections, and bind them there; to act constantly as oil on the troubled waters of life." "The wife was appointed to make a home for man." So says the author of this essay, and so custom has decided; but this does not establish the position. The aborigines of our western forest would hold that she was appointed for quite a different purpose, and the heathen of some other countries would consider her as designed for no better purpose than to be yoked like oxen in the field, and to perish on the funeral pile of her husband. It is plain that all are equally false, when compared with the eternal principles of right; because, instead of being drawn from the nature of things, they have been moulded after the absurd and brutal relics of barbarous times. The day has arrived when woman should be looked upon as something higher and nobler than the mere tool of man; when the wife should be viewed in another light than that of being created merely "to make a home" for her husband. The present system is mere custom; therefore it is not a duty, on the part of the wife, to make a home for her husband, but only a matter of choice, which is perfectly right, so long as it remains so. But when it comes to compulsion—when she is looked upon as made for nothing else—when public opinion and public prejudice would crush the lofty aspiration of her soul, and smother her holiest feelings—when her sphere, which is broad as that of man, is narrowed down to the contracted "circle of home"—when she must look up to "man as her natural lord," with reverence, and obey his dictates, rather than those of her Creator—when she "must educate and bring up her children to be the pride of their father"—when it is unblushingly declared that "submission is unquestionably her duty, where he chooses to command, and has power to enforce it"—in a word, when, notwithstanding her convictions of duty to God, she is forbidden, by professing Christians, the privilege of preaching the glad tidings of the gospel, it becomes a matter of no trifling importance; her dearest rights are invaded. After stating that "she was appointed to make a home for man," the writer goes on and says, "to form a centre for his affections, and bind them there." It is a blessed thing that one's affections naturally cling to home; but this is not the result of any binding or compulsory process on either side. There is something in the language quoted, that casts a hue of melancholy over the delightful scenes of home; it intimates that for nothing else was woman made, but to please, and charm, and make *man* happy; her own immortal hopes never thought of—her duties, her relations to the thousands around her, absorbed in her devotion to the interests and happiness of one. It is noble "to administer from the sanctuary of home to the troubled spirits of men—to soothe their sorrows, and allay their passions—to subdue them by gentleness and truth." And it is equally noble to administer to the troubled spirits of women.—Gentleness and truth are as noble in man, as in woman; it is as much his duty, as hers, to soothe the sorrows of the afflicted, and allay the boisterous passions. Such sentiments have a tendency to degrade the female character. The professed admirers of woman have lavished encomiums without number; they have spent much breath in extolling her virtues, and her nobleness of soul, but for what purpose?—to make her the more willing *slave?* Men have talked a great deal about the immoralities which women would fall into, were they placed upon an equality with themselves. But the idea does not seem to have entered their minds, for a moment, that these immoralities are as unbecoming a man, as a woman. If human duties and proprieties laid as far apart as some represent them, "there would be too gospels, and two teachers—one for man, and another for woman." "The nearer society approaches to divine order," says Mrs. Child, "the less separation will there be in the characters, duties, and pursuits of men and women. Women would not become less gentle and graceful, but men would become more so. Women will not neglect the care and education of their children, but men will find themselves ennobled and refined by sharing those duties with them; and will receive, in return, co-operation and sympathy in the discharge of various other duties, now deemed inappropriate to women. The more women become rational companions, partners in business, and in thought, as well as in affection and amusement, the more highly will men appreciate home, that blessed word, which opens to the human heart the most perfect glimpses of Heaven, and helps to carry it thither, as on angels' wings."

When we say that women have equal rights with men, and should be placed upon an equality with them, we do not mean that they are to leave their present occupations; but we mean that they have a perfect right to choose their own employment; that it is no more their duty to exercise those Christian virtues—gentleness, meekness, mercy, and love—than it is man's; and that they have a right, as all true republicans will acknowledge, to be represented in government; for the Declaration of Independence expressly says, "that governments derive their just powers *from the consent of the governed.*" When and how have women given their consent to any of the existing governments, by which they are convicted of offenses, and punished accordingly? There is scarcely a newspaper of the day, but what contains something disgusting to that soul which takes a correct view of the relation of the sexes to each other, and to their common Creator. "Just imagine, for a moment," says the same eloquent writer, "what impression it would make on men, if women authors should write about their rosy lips, and melting eyes, and voluptuous forms, as they write about us! That women in general do not feel this kind of flattery to be an insult, I readily admit; for in the first place, they do not perceive the gross chattel principle of which it is the utterance; moreover, they have, from long habit, become accustomed to consider themselves household conveniences, or gilded toys. Hence, they consider it feminine and pretty to abjure all such use of their faculties as would make them co-workers with man in the advancement of those great principles on which the progress of society depends." She has felt and blushed for her sex, when she has seen th willingness to be the mere tools of men; she has repeir sented this system of gallantry, which some have p reso high, as the covering to the grossest sensuality. rized

In conclusion, I must say, that I entertain nothing but feelings of respect for the author of that essay; but I detest his sentiments and doctrines. W. M. W.

10th mo. 7th, 1843.

Extract of a Letter, dated

SCOTTSVILLE, February 12th, 1844.

We had a grand and glorious anti-slavery meeting last evening in the Methodist church. The house was crowded to overflowing, and that, too, of the most respectable citizens of Scottsville. The speaker was a colored man, formerly a slave; but at present he resides at Buffalo, in this State. We had never heard a colored man in this place; and to hear one speak like a white man astonished the audience. Mr. Brown told us of the sufferings of the slave; he told how the North is connected with slavery; and how the Church is supporting slavery. He is one of the most eloquent public speakers that ever appeared in this place. He had complete control over the audience. He would make them weep one moment, and laugh the next. Such anti-slavery lecturers are calculated to do great good in the cause. After the meeting was over, a gentleman who stands among the first of our citizens, and who has been greatly prejudiced against colored people, said he was now satisfied that the intellect of the negro was equal to that of the white. Mr. Brown is lecturing in this vicinity; and we say to the people, one and all, go and hear him, and you must come to the conclusion that the negro can be elevated; and that Wm. W. Brown might stand by the side of Clay or Webster, as a public speaker. When shall we have another anti-slavery lecture in Scottsville? W. L. M.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, FEB'Y. 22, 1844.

N. B. Our subscribers in this State will please notice their bills in this number of the paper. We are in great need of the funds. Please forward without delay.

MINORITY REPORT ON THE GAG RULE.

The House of Representatives, with its accustomed courtesy towards the habitual and high-handed violators of justice, gave to Mr. Wise, of Virginia, a license to print, in the name of the House, at the expense of the nation, and without previously reporting, whatever he might please to write in behalf of slavery. When Mr. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, presented a report, sanctioned by every member of the committee, save one, in defense of "sailors' rights," cruelly and insultingly outraged in the very harbors, and under the flag of the *Union*, it was with extreme difficulty that a vote to print it was obtained. Nor do we think that this vote would have been obtained at all, had there not been attached to the report of the majority, a counter report by a powerful and truculent slavemonger, which could not have been printed, except as an appendage to the principal report. The, resolutions in successive years, of some six or seven free and sovereign States in favor of liberty, have been uniformly denied the privilege of printing for the last ten years. The very last resolutions of Massachusetts, proposing so important a matter as the amendment of the Constitution, so as to exclude the representation of *slave* PROPERTY in this DEMOCRATIC *republic*, have within a few days, been voted unfit to be printed, while counter resolutions, of the legislature of Georgia, on the same subject, were promptly, and without opposition, ordered to be printed. Such is the consistency and decency of the vaporing heroes of "sailors' rights," and "State rights;" and such the tameness and treachery of northern Senators and representatives! This is union indeed; a union for insult and extortion, a union for degrading and robbing us, a union for subverting our rights, corrupting our morals, and destroying those interests, which we hug to our bosoms as the supreme good, while we are thus spurned with the slaveholder's foot! Alas that it should come to this; that the old Yankee spirit, which plucked an Andros from the viceroyal seat, should have become so spaniel-like and lowly! But we deserve it all. It is strictly in the order of a righteous providence. We "consented with the thief," and now we are justly made the victims of the rapacity to which we ministered.

Mr. Wise has a world of sophistry and verbiage about the meaning of the words "exclusive legislation," as belonging to Congress, over the District of Columbia, to which we will not give so much importance as to make any reply whatever, for we are satisfied that if any importance should ever be attached to it, it must be derived wholly from the error of reanimating by criticism, that which would fall deadborn from the press. We will give the reader a specimen or two. He lays down this among a string of restrictions upon the power of Congress in respect to the District:

"Nothing which Congress is expressly prohibited by the Constitution from doing in respect to the whole nation, can it do in the District of Columbia."

Say you so? We want nothing more than this to extirpate slavery in the District as soon as a case can be carried through judicial forms. The reasoning would be this. Congress has no power to establish slavery over the whole nation; but Congress has established slavery in the District of Columbia by re-enacting the laws of Maryland and Virginia, which were in force therein previously to the cession of the territory by those States. When Congress re-enacted those inhuman codes, slavery had expired in the District, just as much as a slave carried or sent by his master into a free State, stands disenthralled. It follows from Mr. Wise's doctrine that Congress had no power to re-enslave the District, and that therefore all the slaves therein are now legally free! Again, Congress has no power to license the slave-trade "in the whole nation," therefore the licenses issued in the District by act of Congress and by ordinances of the cities of Washington and Alexandria, are illegal and void, and the price of blood which has been paid for them ought to be refunded by the nation! Is there any escape from this? The false and bloody Jugurtha, at a council of the heirs of Massinissa, proposed that all laws passed in the latter years of the deceased king, should be abrogated on account of his incompetency during that period, to make laws. "I also am in favor of that, said one of the sons of Massinissa, for within that time *you was adopted into our family.*" We are not in favor of Mr. Wise's principle, believing it false and absurd; but if admitted, we would carry it back to the acts of Congress, creating and sanctifying the curse and the crimes of slavery and slave-trade in the capital of a country eternally and disgustingly vaunting its freedom, intelligence, and enlarged humanity.

Following an interpretation, started some years ago by Mr. Watkins Leigh, Mr. Wise asserts that the *act of cession* on the part of Virginia, prohibits the abolition of slavery in these words, viz: "*Provided* that nothing herein contained shall be construed to vest in the United States any right of property in the soil, or to effect the rights of individuals therein, otherwise than the same shall or may be transferred by such individuals to the United States." Upon this, Mr. Leigh has given the following commentary.

It may be thought that the word "therein" refers to the word soil, in the preceding member of the sentence, as its antecedent, so as to secure the rights of individuals in the soil only, and not in any other property. But a little attention will show that the word "therein" has reference to the tract of country ceded; for, 1st. The previous cession is "as well of the soil as of persons residing or to reside therein," and the provision was intended as a qualification of the whole grant, and must be construed not only to secure rights of property in the soil ceded, but the rights of individuals resident thereon, over whom exclusive jurisdiction is also ceded. 2d. As the rights of property in the soil could be none other than the rights of individuals to property in the soil, if they alone were intended to be secured, the other member of the sentence, securing the rights of individuals therein, will be wholly inoperative, and nugatory. 3d. The word "therein," in truth, belongs to both members of the sentence; though, according to the idiom of the language, it is inserted only after the last; the sense is the same as if it had been written, "any right of property in the soil therein, or to affect the rights of individuals therein," i. e. in the tract of country before ceded.

It would be astounding, if the common and notorious tautology of our statute laws, the greater part of which are inartificially drawn, and in which many superfluous words and phrases are heaped up, because the legislator does not know the precise extent of any, could be wrought to such grave issues as the one here attempted to be established. If every clause and phrase is to have an independent meaning and application, because it would otherwise be "inoperative and nugatory," the "glorious uncertainty of the law," of which men say so much, would be most gloriously exemplified. The nation would be driven mad, en masse, and Millerism would be an inestimable blessing, if it would clear the docket. If Mr. Leigh had taken into view the *last* clause of the proviso—which, by the way, is just as superfluous as the preceding—he would have been spared his fine-spun commentary. The word "same," has for its antecedent all the rights mentioned in the proviso. Now, did the legislature mean, in this, to guard the rights of property in personal goods, as horses, household stuff, money, and other chattels? This cannot be contended, because the legislature *had not transferred any of these things;* and they intended to limit rights in the things only they did transf

the southwest, *pari passu* with the non-slaveholding States in the northwest, in admitting new States into the Union. After Florida and Wiskonsan are admitted, the equilibrium of power in the Senate will be destroyed, as well as in the House.

The question is, how long will the minority permit the agitation to go on, without an open rupture, which constantly and aggravatingly harasses it with the issue whether the property of slaveholders shall be their property or not? How long will any people, not cravens and slaves themselves, consent to abide agitation against a solemn compact that they shall not be disturbed in their property, on an issue whether they shall, in fact, have a certain description of property allowed by their own State laws?

Agitation, at present, is the only lever of power which the abolitionists desire to employ. They know the value of this engine of annoyance. They desire no reports to be prematurely made in Congress, to bring their aims to an issue just at this time. The time is not yet come. They know that the attraction of cohesion of the rock of slavery is to be destroyed, not by one, but by repeated blows—that no one will know by which blow it was destroyed, but that every stroke, however slight, will shock its particle, its atom in its place; and that, in the course of time, the mere pecking of pigmies will rend asunder the huge granite, as the drippings of water will perforate the solid marble. It is said that they are few. Doubtless, those who are so blind in their fanaticism, as to be for striking one great blow immediately, either at slavery in the District of Columbia, or elsewhere, are few; but their leaders, and many who will not, from policy, own their names or confess their designs, more profound in their policy, would not abolish slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia; for then the lever of agitation, the bone of contention, the fulcrum of power for ulterior movements, their real aims of abolition in the States, would be gone. Those who say they are not for the abolition of slavery in this District—that they are not abolitionists, and never were, and that they are now denounced by them—and who, at the same time avow opinions far more dangerous and destructive, and whose policy tends to hold back all immediate minor efforts, until agitation—agitation—continual agitation, upon debateable grounds (such as slavery in the District of Columbia) shall have prepared the elements of revolution for one mighty throe, which shall effect all—abolition of slavery in the States, and abolition of slavery everywhere, as well as here;—those whose aims are thus cloaked, and whose policy is thus more cunningly devised, are more to be dreaded, and more to be guarded against, than are the blind and furious zealots of fanaticism, who would rush at once into excesses which would check and correct themselves. The demon hypocrite of abolition would most religiously abstain from violating the right of petition, to violate the right of private property; and he would coil his serpents away until all the furies could be let loose for certain havoc of all he aims, and the most precious he aims to destroy. This is perfectly understood by the minority. And whilst they know that they have many good and faithfully sincere friends in the free States, they are not so unphilosophical as to suppose it possible for those friends long to sustain themselves, in communities where there are no ties, no associations of slavery to correct or modify a public opinion, which is daily influenced by the press, by the pulpit, by the school, by birth, habit, and education, in natural hostility to slavery and slaveholders. And, furthermore, they are not insensible to the fact—which must, in the nature of things, be so—that among themselves even, (now that numerical majorities have changed sections,) political ambition enough will be found standing with its feet on the southern slaveholding soil, and its eyes cast wistfully to the land of numbers—those counters of candidates for honors and offices. Late events, and a number of instances lately, prove that a minority section thus weakens in power faster than it weakens in numbers. Renegades will take the bounty, at the very moment when their birthplaces most need their best nerves, and their best thoughts, for defense. They will sell out the hearths and the graves of their fathers, to those who alone any longer can give them the hopes and the honors of power and place and political preferment. These two accursed classes of hypocrites on the one side, and renegades on the other, are alarmingly dangerous to a section whibh, we repeat, has the more reason than ever to be jealous of its rights, because it is dwarfed by the census, and will soon be dwarfed in the Senate, as it is now dwarfed in the House of Representatives and in a presidential election.

But as to the mode of disposing of these petitions:—by what criterion is it said that their reception and reference is the best mode of quieting and tranquilizing this incessant agitation? What is the history of these petitions? Are they harmless and fangless reptiles? Far from it; the mischief they have done, before this rule was ever adopted, is incalculable; their mischief, in fact, forced the adoption of the rule.

After giving a narrative of all the sacrilegious and daring violations of our rights of petition and of debate, the report concludes as follows:

This history is given thus minutely, to show that every means has been resorted to, in vain; that, for more than forty years, these petitions were received, referred, deliberated, and reported upon most respectfully; that they were then received and laid on the table; that they were then objected to, and the question of reception laid upon the table, whilst the House was gravely considering executive messages calling on Congress to exert the law-making power to prevent the work of incendiarism and servile war; that they were again received, and referred, and most respectfully reported upon; that they were again laid upon the table specially, and afterwards by two different standing rules; and that, finally, they were refused a reception; and still they obtrude their dangerous agitation, to shake the very pillars of the Union! Nothing can appease, or mollify, or affect them in any way. They are bent upon more than the assertion of a right of petition, which is not involved in them. Their aiders and abettors in Congress show themselves resolved to pursue the very same course, no matter whether they are received or not. The question cannot be concealed—*it is not a question of the right of petition; it is solely a question whether the property in slaves shall longer be properly!*

What course is then left for the slaveholding States, and their senators and representatives, to pursue? It cannot be said that this agitation is not dangerous, nor that it has not done much mischief already. Agitation is the effectual means by which fanaticism has always accomplished its most fearful results. The most solid institutions, besides that of property, have never been able to withstand its perpetual shocks. Rights most solemnly guarantied to the slaveholding States by the Constitution, have been made already defenseless, by the agitation of abolition. The most striking instance of a plain and palpable provision set at naught already by the state of public opinion in the North, is the clause which provides for delivering up fugitive slaves. The act of 1793 was intended to carry this provision into effect. It has been found to be defective; and, in repeated instances, in 1801, in 1819, in 1820, and in 1840, after various complaints from the State legislatures, attempts have been made to amend this act, so as to make it effectual for the recapture of fugitives; and it is a case not only clearly within the competency, but a positive duty of Congress. And yet it may be regarded as a thing almost impossible to have it so amended. It would much more easily, it is presumed, be repealed, as it is prayed to be repealed by abolition petitions. In all cases where slaves are now carried by their masters into the non-slaveholding States, *voluntarily*, the free State laws emancipating them, are put in force. All means are put into operation to induce slaves to run away.—The anti-slavery society of New-York has published the number of runaways to be one thousand per annum, aided in their escape to Canada by the friends of abolition. There are regular societies formed, and tolerated, to facilitate their escape. Very lately, the power of abolitionists in Boston even has forced a master (Mr. Gray, of Norfolk, Va.) to take a reduced price for his slave, in the custody of a United States court. Judge Story's high sanction could not prevail to defend either the Constitution or the rights of slave property there. This provision of the Constitution may now be looked on as nugatory. Already are we threatened with the horrible test of whether a free negro is a citizen of the United States, within the meaning of the second clause of article first, which declares that no person shall be a representative in Congress who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States. Next, we shall hear of their capability of being electors of President and Vice-President; indeed, of their being named for these high offices themselves, or any lesser offices in the gift of abolitionists. Already have the slaves in the District of Columbia been impaired immensely in their value, not only by the facilities afforded to runaways, but by the false hopes of freedom, by which they are caused to be insolent, indolent, and unhappy. Already has the post-office been abused to the infernal purposes of the incendiary. Already has the coasting trade been made subservient to the means of exciting insurrection, and of inducing away and concealing runaway slaves; and abolition influence is daily attempting to force free negroes into the limits of the slave States, against their laws, under the power to regulate commerce by Congress, and under the clause giving to the citizens of each State the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States. Already has the spirit of abolition nullified, in the cases of Maine and Georgia, and of Virginia and New-York, the second clause of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution, as to persons charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice. Already has abolition bounded slavery by a line of latitude as to the admission of new States into the Union; and already has it left but one more slave territory to come into the Union, to preserve its equilibrium; and already does it defy the acquisition of more slave territory by treaty. Already does it threaten amendments to the Constitution, which shall destroy its compromises and guaranties as to slavery. Already has it utterly, and in every case, refused to pay for slave property taken for public use, even to defend the city of New Orleans in the last war, and the territory of Florida since. Already have its debates in Congress, and its publications, excited two insurrections—one in Charleston, S. C. caused by a speech made in the Senate of the United States [Mr. Rufus King's] on the admission of Missouri in 1820, and the one in Southampton, Virginia. Already has it caused sectional jealousies, heart-burnings, and upbraidings between the North and the South, (in violation of the farewell address of the father of his country,) tending to the dismemberment of the Union. Already has it introduced foreign emissaries, let in foreign influence, and taken sides with foreign power and policy against the weakest points of its own country, even to the extent of justifying the mutineers of the Creole, and yielding up the right of search to British cruisers. Already does it insult, misrepresent, and denounce the brethren of the Union to their faces in the representative hall, in the State legislatures, and in society at home and abroad, until they are hated as lawless oppressors of near three millions of the human race, as lynch-law ruffians, as man-stealers, soul-drivers, and slave-breeders. Already has it, in direct newspaper addresses to the slaves, inculcated upon them the horrible ethics which justify assassination, murder, and theft; (see the Peterboro,' N. Y. address to the slaves of the United States.) Already has it amalgamated the whites and the blacks, wherever human nature can be debased to its designs, and amalgamated every passion of every hue to accomplish its hellish crimes, contemplated in its triple treason to its happy country, once united in brotherly affection as well as by political bonds. Already has it riveted the chains, and increased the burdens of the black man, by its frightful philanthropy towards the white man, which more than threatens—in fact, hurls common destruction at both. Why are slaveholders so often told that this spirit is so easily lulled and pacified by allowing it to come into the highest halls of legislation to howl for its victims? How suppose that it can so easily be appeased, by receiving and laying its prayers for blood on the table? How suppose that it can be quieted, by allowing it all the free access, and free range of reference and report? Why say it can do no harm, when, under all restraint, it has already done so much harm? Why tell us it can be calmed by reason, when it is fanaticism frantic, and growing stronger as it becomes more mad? Why say it is weak, when it has large funds, many pulpits, many schools, many presses, many societies, several legislatures, not a few representatives in Congress, very many men of talents, many able agents, public and secret, at home and abroad; the best of writers in poetry and prose, the art of engraving in its employ, with which it caricatures the master, and stamps its impress of a slave kneeling in chains on every "silent and familiar thing" of the households of a national majority; when it prays in the name of religion, and wields the very Vatican bulls of excommunication; when, as yet, it is unrebuked, and even licensed in its zeal, with but just enough of persecution to make it not warm, but hot, in its cravings for some sort of martyrdom? Why are we told, after all that it is, and all that it has done, that when the occasion arises—when abolition grows worse, and does some overt act of wickedness, that then slaveholders and the Constitution shall find friends enough in the free States to guard both? What has it not done already?—what worse can it do? And are we to wait until it grows so strong, that it can do whatever mischief its wickedness wills? The apprehension is, that it recruits much faster than its foes in the free States. They soon must hold their peace, or share the fate of slaveholders. Slaveholders, then, must look alone to themselves. They must meet the foe on the frontier, and must fight every inch of the ground; not one inch of which can be yielded, or all is lost. What must they do? The undersigned recommend—

1st. That the rule be not stricken out.

2d. If it is, that the substitute proposed by Mr. Chapman, in committee, be adopted.

3d. That if neither be adopted, the representatives of the slave States are advised to take no part in any proceedings whatever relating to the subject of abolition.

4th. That, in any event, they shall unite in a recommendation to their respective State legislatures, and to their constituents, of a convention or conventions of the people of all the States of the Union, who will co-operate to consider anew the compromises and guarantees of the Constitution of the United States on the subject of slavery, the domestic slave-trade, and of fugitive slaves, and to consider and adopt means to arrest and forever prevent the evils of the incendiary spirit of abolition.

HENRY A. WISE,
R. CHAPMAN.

We are glad to find that Mr. Charles J. Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania, another of the minority, had not the hardihood to put his signature to this report. The consequences which Mr. Wise portrays, as preparing for the slave-mongers "good and faithfully sincere friends in the free States," are too terrible for a man of his weak temperament, and absorbing selfishness to despise.

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENCE.

WASHINGTON, February 15, 1844.

According to the best information I am able to obtain, the northern democrats, who, for the first time in fifty years, made a stand at the beginning of this session against the tyranny of the slaveholding and slave-breeding oligarchy, have been frightened by the crack of "the southern whip" into their former fealty. The threats of the Richmond Enquirer, the Charleston Mercury, the slavemongers in Congress, and Mr. Calhoun, *appear* to have had the desired effect, and the *gag-rule will probably be sustained*. Fierce as those threats have been in public places and through public mediums, I am informed that in private, they have been still more angry and insolent. If Mr. *Beardsley* would speak, he could give information on this subject, which would stir up the blood of the most servile and party-trained constituency that exists in the North, and flatters itself that it is free. I am happy to say that so far as my information goes, Mr. Beardsley and a few more, still stand firm in the focus of all the slave batteries. I cannot but think, however, that they will ultimately find their position so isolated and uncomfortable, that they will either surrender or go over to the other side. Politicians cannot be expected to brave the martyrdom of living without a majority, or the hope of it. Their habits and objects require the sympathy and support of *numbers*.

"They are slaves, who dare not be
In the right with two or three."

The western democrats appear to be *bent on* a thick and thin adhesion to the bloody slavemongers. The former want war and Oregon; the latter want war and Texas; and both think that war, besides being the only probable means of securing their respective objects, will also, by its patronage and its terror, have the effect of seducing and dragooning the recusant portion of the parties and the nation, either into co-operation or submission. Neither of them care much about the commercial interest, which will primarily and principally bear the brunt of the battle. A northern man told me that in a late convention with a southern member, he asked how the South expected to appease or oppose the rising sentiment of the North, in favor of freedom; and their unceasing and increasing demand of exemption from the burdens, and the disgrace of slavery. The southerner replied; "A war will help us." This is the old policy of *cutting* the knot, which they cannot untie.

Mr. Wise has been confirmed by a large majority, as minister to Brazil. I regard this result as extremely disreputable to the whig Senate. Mr. Wise, the leader of that revolt, which paralized their party, the prime instigator and associate of the treachery of Tyler, the patron of the booted loafers," who are to "sack the towers and rifle the churches of Mexico," and make "slavery to pour itself *freely* over the continent, to California, and the Pacific ocean." Mr. Wise, the apostate, who in the face of his own violent and unsparing denunciations of democratic corruption, went over to the democratic party, and published his adhesion in the Richmond Enquirer, on the eve of the election of the present Congress, has now received a splendid premium for his perfidy and apostacy at the hands of those he betrayed! Still further and worse. We stipulated in the Ashburton treaty in pursuance of that of Ghent, to use our best endeavors to suppress the markets of *African* slaves, and to remonstrate with the nations maintaining them. Wise is the envoy extraordinary, to remonstrate with the Brazilians against the continuance of the slave markets in their empire! Verily, a *wise* adaptation of means to end! Ex-Governor Gilmer, of Virginia, the Texan land-monger, also a Tyler traitor, whom the whigs have justly regarded as vastly more objectionable than any consistent democrat, was yesterday confirmed as Secretary of the Navy. Besides these blots, which ought to have been sufficient for a whig Senate, there is another more deep and disgraceful. In a report by Hiland Hall, late a member from Vermont, Mr. Gilmer was shown to have depredated extensively upon the treasury of the Union. For a long time, his ally, Mr. Wise, succeeded in preventing this report from being printed. It is considered one of the most conclusive and astounding devlopements of rascality, that was ever made in Congress. I do not know that any answer to it has been attempted. Thus we have three Virginians of the Tyler guard, put into the very highest offices in the gift of the government, by a whig Senate at the present session; two of them, Upshur and Gilmer, Heads of Departments; and this, when *eight-tenths* of the diplomatic offices were already in the hands of southern men! This is "the dwarfing of the South by the census!" It is painful to dwell upon such topics, but it is necessary. The people must be told again and again, that these things are the consequence of the inveterate, degrading, and corrupting supremacy of slavery, which subverts the moral government of God, by rewarding vice and punishing virtue. This it does everywhere and at all times, in every appointment, in every expenditure, in every ramification of the government, and every part of the country. By the way, I have just been informed of a case, which illustrates this proposition to a charm. A colored woman is now lying in a dungeon, in Virginia, under sentence of death, to be executed in the ensuing month. Her crime is that she struck, and happened to kill a young man, who attempted a *brutal* assault upon her person! It is not pretended that she aimed to kill. In her wretchedness and degradation, she still dared to aspire to the dignity of a pure soul and of honorable womanhood, and the blow, which was intended merely to repel the ravisher, by an unhappy fatality *proved mortal*.

To-day, Mr. Gilmer, as his last act in the House, made a report of *some* of the committee on the Massachusetts resolutions for expunging the slave representation. It is signed, I understand by *two*. It is of course adverse to the proposition. It was laid on the table to await the report or reports from the rest (seven) of the committee. It is supposed that there will be more than one more. Mr. Adams's report will be the principal, and (it has been intimated by those who know,) one of the greatest State papers ever produced in this country. It will be signed by "two or three."

Mr. *Severance*, of Maine, made a sensible speech today, on the gag. I thought that some remarks on the economical effects of abolition in this District, seemed to impress the House favorably. He said that if slavery were abolished, cultivators and artisans from the North, would gather here; that there was a water power and a soil superior to those of Lowell, and that northern capital, ingenuity and industry would introduce business, prosperity, and productiveness, into this idle barren waste. He said also that agitation in Congress would never cease, but surge higher and heavier, until Congress did its duty, and abolished slavery wherever they had the power. This done, and agitation here would cease, but not, he believed, elsewhere.

There has not been any other speech since I arrived that would particularly interest abolitionists.

I have learned that in making his celebrated, and singularly inhuman speech on abolition, in 1838, Mr. Clay had for *advisers*, William C. Preston and Waddy Thompson, the worst that he could have found this side of pandemonium! I have an anecdote in relation to the same speech, which I think ought to be made known. During his visit to Saratoga, the next summer, Mr. Clay met an old political and personal friend, belonging in the vicinity. This friend said to him, "That speech has lost you the State of New-York." [So in effect it did, and not only this State, but the nomination and the presidency.] "Then," said Mr. Clay, "*my friends have cruelly deceived me.*" Had he consulted conscience and consistency, instead of selfish political men and aims, he would not have been deceived. "Honesty is the best policy, but policy without honesty will never find it out." Mr. Clay may triumph at last, but success will be embittered.—Come what may, he never can retrieve what he lost by that odious and fatal speech. His *best* friends are not heart-friends. They feel driven by a supposed necessity, from which they would gladly extricate themselves.—

D. L. C.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE SOUTH.

"I speak freely my convictions on thes ubject of slavery; and though this is dangerous ground for a guest to tread upon, I find that Mr. —— listens with an open mind and a human heart. I have learned much from actual observation, since I came here, of the effects of this great wrong both upon master and slave. Each day, my anti-slavery faith and feeling grow stronger. It is easy for me to learn, but alas, it is hard to teach. It is easy to receive impressions, but more difficult to make them. I speak, with earnestness, what conscience prompts, whenever opportunity offers. I always endeavor to work in the spirit of love; and I am not without hope, that some small word of mine may, with God's blessing, be charged with life, and bring forth fruit after many days.

"I dwell in the midst of beauty, both of Nature and Art. The glorious climate, and "peculiar institutions" of the South, give an air of elegance and ease to social life in high places, which cannot be found at the North. The house is filled with articles of elegance, luxury, and taste. The library is beautiful, with its treasures of books and pictures, and its long window, through which I can walk into the piazza, and look at the untiring waves of ocean washing the beach continually. The garden, with its winding paths lined with oleanders, magnolias, jonquils, &c. seems like enchanted ground. The woods here are most magnificent. I spend my time walking through them, strolling on the beach, or gazing on works of art. Sometimes I vary the scene by mounting a horse and galloping over the cotton fields to the next plantation. So you see I am leading a life of freedom and pleasure. I never before lived in so much luxury. But I am tired of being *waited upon*. My Northern spirit of independence, and my views of life, involving as they do, the necessity of distribution of labor, are sadly at variance with these long sunny days of indolence and ease to *some*, and the continuous night of unrequited labor to *others*. Oh, for the time when each individual may stand for a particular note in the great world-song, and always sound full and clear, in harmony with the whole! The great wants of society press more heavily upon my mind and heart in these Southern States, than at the freer North; and I cannot rest. I feel dissatisfied and uneasy, because I have the light, and cannot work. I cannot become reconciled to these unproductive days. My active spirit wages constant warfare with my folded hands."

FREE COLORED PEOPLE IN MARYLAND.

A select committee of the Maryland House of Delegates, recently appointed to consider the subject of the removal of the free colored population from Charles county, have made a report, which has been printed by order of the house.

They report that they have extended their examinations throughout the State, and find that the free colored population has increased much faster than the white; and they consider this circumstance injurious to the morals and prosperity of the State. It is their decided opinion that they ought to be removed from the State. That for the sake of moral and intellectual improvement, they ought to be transported *out of America*; and they recommend Liberia, or Maryland in Africa, as the best place. To get rid of this inconvenient population, (a large portion of which have sprung from the white man's vices,) they propose to sell them out, until they shall have earned a sufficiency to transport them from the State, if they are found in the county after a certain time. They recommend this measure, as "politic by relieving the county from the burden of transportation; and humane, because their condition is made better by putting them to work, and there is something at the same time added to the general property of the State, as the fruits of their labor."

They say these free colored people are "the creatures of the law—the beings of special statutes, and not members of the body politic. We constantly pass acts taking away a portion of their privileges—and it would be extraordinary, if we cannot take away the whole when we take away a part."

After reading this, who wonders that it is necessary to seek moral and intellectual improvement by going out of Maryland in America, to learn humanity, common sense, and natural law, of the savages of Africa?

FRIENDS.

The committee appointed by the Monthly meeting of Friends, held in Cherry street, Philadelphia, to collect from their members contributions for the support of their poor, &c. reported a few days since that some had declined to contribute, because the anti-slavery association was permitted to hold their meetings in the meeting-house. This brought the subject before the Monthly meeting, when it was concluded, with only two dissenting voices, to grant them the privilege of doing so. It is satisfactory to find the meeting so unanimous. In the days of those excellent men, Nicholas Waln, James Pemberton, &c. &c. the abolition society, composed of the *various religious denominations*, were held in Friends' meeting-house, during a period of many years. In this city, that privilege was and is denied to the anti-slavery association, though composed entirely of Friends.

CAMPBELL'S FOREIGN SEMI-MONTHLY MAGAZINE.—The February number of this interesting periodical contains a beautiful engraving by Sartain, of Nydia, the painfully-interesting blind girl in Bulwer's Last Days of Pompeii. The articles are, notices of New Novels, from the Westminster Review; Letters from Fanny Elssler, at Havana, from Fraser's Magazine; British Postage Regulations, from the Athenæum; Adventures in Texas, from Blackwood's Magazine; Comic Blackstone, from the Charivari; The Reviewers, from the Edinburgh Journal; Practical Men, from the London Spectator; United States Exploring Expedition, from the Edinburgh Philosophical Journal; The New Art of Printing, from Blackwood's Magazine; Reminiscences of a Medical Student, New Monthly Magazine; The Poet, Fraser's Magazine; Song of the Shirt, from the Charivari; Wordsworth's Inscription for Southey's Monument, Athenæum; England and France, by Mrs. Gore, Tait's Magazine; Miscellany, news of Art and Science, &c.

CASSIUS M. CLAY'S SPEECH.

This is a noble, an elevating, and stirring appeal. In the name of truth, justice, and patriotism, we thank the author for his work. May the hearts and types of our northern editors do him that justice, which he does to the subject. Let not this voice from slaveland die away in the regions of the North, but awaken a cheering response in every village, and dwelling of the free.

SLAVERY IN FRANCE.—We have heard that a petition from the working people in Paris, to the legislature for the abolition of slavery in the French colonies, is in the course of signature, and likely to be signed by many thousands of the French citizens. This is a new as well as very encouraging aspect of the question in France.

Anti-Slavery Items.

LEGAL MURDER.—A young man, named James L. Brown, has been tried at Fairfield, South Carolina, for aiding or advising a slave to escape from the service of her master, for which he has been sentenced to be hung on the 26th of April next. It appears that he was enamored of the slave, who was nearly white, and they ran off together, and were making their way towards the free States, passing for man and wife.

The following is the Charge delivered by a slaveholding judge, the Hon. J. B. O'Neall:

John L. Brown: It is my duty to announce to you the consequences of the conviction which you heard at Winnsboro', and the opinion you have just heard read, refusing your twofold motion in arrest of judgment for a new trial. You are to die!—Die a shameful, ignominious death, the death upon the gallows. This annunciation is to you, I know, most appalling. Little did you dream of it, when you stepped into the bar, with an air, as if you thought it was a fine frolick. But the consequences of crime are just such as you are realizing; punishment often comes when least expected. Let me entreat you to take the present opportunity to commence the work of reformation. Time will be afforded to you to prepare for the great change which may be just before you.

Of your past life I know nothing, except that which your trial furnished. It told me that the crime for which you are now to suffer, was the consequence of the want of attention on your part to the duties of life. The "strange woman" snared you; she "flattered with her words," and you became her victim. The consequence was, that led on by a desire to serve her, you committed the offense of aiding a slave to run away, and depart from her master's service, and you are now to die for it.

You are a young man, and I fear have been an idle, as well as a dissolute one. If so, these kindred vices have contributed a full measure to your ruin.

Reflect upon your past life, and make the only useful devotion of the remnant of your days in preparing for death.

"Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth," is the language of inspired wisdom. This comes home appropriately to you, at this trying moment. You are young, quite too young to be where you are, and if you had remembered your Creator in your past days, you would not now be in the felon's place, to receive a felon's judgment. Still it is not too late, to remember your Creator; he calls early, and he calls late, he stretches out the arms of a Father's love to you, to the vilest sinner, and says "come unto me, and be ye saved."

You can perhaps read; if you can, read the scriptures—read them without note, and without comment, and pray to God for his assistance, and you will be able to say, when you pass from prison to execution, as a poor slave said, under similar circumstances, "I am glad my Friday has at last come."

If you cannot read the scriptures, the ministers of our holy religion will be ready to aid you; they will read and explain to you, until you will be able to understand, and understanding, to call upon the only one who can help and save you, Jesus Christ, "the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world." To him I commend you: and through him may you have that opening of the day-spring of mercy from on high, which shall bless you here, and crown you in an everlasting world, as a saint, forever, and ever.

The sentence of the law is, that you be taken hence to the place from whence you last came, thence to the gaol of Fairfield District, and that there you be closely and securely confined until Friday, the 26th day of April next, on which day, between the hours of 10 in the forenoon, and 2 in the afternoon, you will be taken to the place of public execution, and there be hanged by the neck till your body be dead; and may God have mercy on your soul.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE DUTCH COLONIES.—A society has been formed at Utrecht, composed of several professors of the university, and other notable persons, for inquiring into the condition of the slave population in their colonies, with the view of abolishing slavery in the shortest period possible.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

Foreign.

IRELAND.

Great excitement exists concerning the State Trials. The striking of the special jury which is to try the issue, has ranged against the government all the Roman Catholic party who were not previously repealers. From some hundreds of names on the panel, forty-eight were drawn by ballot, the traversers possessing the same right as the crown, of peremptorily challenging twelve, twelve on each side.

It happened that out of the forty-eight drawn, eleven were Roman Catholics; these the government challenged, and the whole were struck off—the representatives of the traversers during this process, crying out, "there goes a Catholic! another Papist struck off!" &c. This affair has set the country in a blaze, so to speak; and unpopular as were the proceedings before, it has made them more so. The government has been attacked with great bitterness, for adopting a line of conduct which looks very like a foregone conclusion to pack a jury to insure a conviction. So great was the indignation experienced in Ireland at the striking off all the Roman Catholics from the jury list, that a requisition for calling an aggregate meeting of the Catholics of Ireland, was signed in three hours by sixty-five barristers, only three of whom are repealers.

The first day of the trials was marked by more than usual excitement in Dublin. The lord mayor's state carriage brought Mr. O'Connell to the court, and was accompanied by a procession which formed at the learned gentleman's house, in Merion square. Arrived at the court, the doors of which were besieged from an early hour, they were taken leave of by their admirers, with hearty applause.

"Of the millions confederated together," (said Wm. S. O'Brien, chairman of a great repeal meeting,) "every man is ready to go to prison to-morrow, in defense of his country's rights; but how can government build prisons enough to hold the whole Irish people?"

O'Connell has earnestly renewed his expostulations for the preservation of law and order, combined with a firm stand for Irish rights.

HAYTI.

The French envoy has left Port au Prince, without effecting any treaty with the new government. His first proposal was to give the Haytien government a period of twenty years without interest on their debt, provided they were allowed the exclusive privilege of trading with the island. This was indignantly refused. The next proposal was to allow the government five years' rest, providing the French vessels were admitted on payment of half the usual tonnage duties. The Haytien government then refused any concession, declaring that they would abide by the treaty of 1838, and accordingly paid Mons. Barret the instalment that was due, $350,000. A further sum of $200,000 had already been forwarded to France, making the whole due. Mons. B. took the money with him in the frigate, when he sailed. The next annual instalment of $600,000, will be due in July. One French frigate, and three French brigs of war, and a British sloop-of-war, are at Port au Prince.

A general amnesty for political offenses has been proclaimed, from which only ex-president Boyer, and his prime minister, Inginac, are excepted.

General Items.

A Long, Low, Black Schooner.—There is lying at the bulkhead, opposite No. 84 South street, a savage looking, Baltimore-built craft, which could say some strange things, if only she could speak, and in truth, her appearance speaks for itself. She is a schooner with heavy, raking masts, and spars enough for a ship, with a hull 80 feet long on deck, 16 feet beam, and 10 feet hold, with high bulwarks, pierced by six guns and twenty-four sweeps. She had made five successful voyages from Africa to Brazil, with cargoes consisting of about five hundred slaves each, and just taking on board another cargo of five hundred, and when the slaves were yet almost all of them standing on deck, the boats of a British cruiser made her appearance, and rapidly coming up, fired, killed seven of the slaves, and captured the schooner. The slaves were liberated, the vessel was condemned and sold, and is now owned by a British merchant at Sierra Leone. She has brought to this port a cargo of palm oil, and is loading with tobacco, flour, &c. for her return.—*Journal of Commerce.*

Oregon.—Mr. Packenham, newly-appointed envoy from England to the United States, is charged with full powers to negotiate an adjustment of the dispute *about* Oregon.

Legacy to Henry Clay.—The amount of property bequeathed to the Hon. Henry Clay, by the late Senator Porter, of Louisiana, is stated in the Lexington (Ky.) Inquirer, at $50,000 or $60,000.

Query, how much of it consists in human beings?

Murder According to Law.—William Clark and Hester Foster, convicted of murder, were executed at Columbus, Ohio, a few days since. The execution was public, and was attended by ten or twelve thousand persons, of whom one-eighth at least were women. A blacksmith, named Sullivan Sweet, was so severely trampled upon by horses, that he was not expected to survive.

The wretched beings were attended to the gallows by several clergymen, and received all the benefit of religious services. The colored women seemed much affected, and knelt and prayed with the clergy, with much fervor. Clark seemed utterly hardened and indifferent, and refused, although twice solicited, to kneel on the scaffold, during the religious services.

Grossness.—The Rev. Russell S. Judd, pastor of a free church in Brooklyn, New-York, has been detected in grossly immodest conduct toward the young girls of his Sunday school; in consequence of which he has been deposed and excommunicated by the Presbytery.

High Civilization.—A duel has been fought recently at Washington, D. C. between two very young men, named Cochran and May, in consequence of a quarrel over the billiard table. Cochran received a ball in the front of his head, which ploughed up the top of his skull, and removed a portion of his brains. They fought at thirty yards only, with rifles. No one has been arrested. It is said that all the parties concerned are too *respectable* to be arrested.

Fires.—A woollen factory and grist mill, have lately been destroyed by fire, in Hinsdale, Mass.

In West Whately, Mass. a satinett factory was burned; caused by a pipe that passed through the floor. Loss $5,000 or $6,000; no insurance.

The dwelling-house of Mr. Marsh Foster, of Westfield, N. J. caught fire from ashes set under the stairway, intended soon to be removed, but were forgotten. The house was entirely consumed. No lives lost. No insurance.

Political Abolition.—The liberty party convention, at Columbus, Ohio, have again nominated J. G. Birney for president, and Thomas Morris for vice-president. Leicester King was re-nominated for governor.

Sad Accident.—Mrs. Keturah Clevenger, residing a mile south of Pemberton, N. J. while attempting to cross over the Rancocus, upon the ice, on Sunday last, broke through. One of her sons, about eight years old, was with her. He ran home, and alarmed his brother, twelve years old, and then returned; and in his desparate efforts to save his mother, broke through the ice, and was drowned. The other boy, by the aid of a slab, which he wrenched from an adjacent fence, saved his mother's life, although she had given up all hopes of being rescued.

A Caution.—The wife of Mr. Joel K. Post, administerred, as she supposed, a spoonful and a half of rhubarb to her daughter, about two years old; but it was subsequently discovered that laudanum had been given. The child died.—*New Haven Palladium.*

Horrible Accident.—We learn that on the South Boston turnpike, this forenoon, a worthy and industrious young man, by the name of Stanley, belonging to Milton, while in the act of jumping on a loaded team, which he was driving to the city, was precipitated, by reason of his foot slipping, as it is supposed, under the wheels, the team being in motion, which passed directly over his head, crushing it almost to a pumice. He was taken up nearly dead, and his recovery is considered utterly hopeless.—*Boston Mercantile Journal.*

Punishment of Death.—A large meeting of the friends of the "abolition of the punishment of death," was held at the Apollo Saloon, Monday evening, the 5th instant. Notwithstanding the evening was very inclement, the meeting was very large and enthusiastic. It was eloquently addressed by several gentlemen. The following officers were appointed by the meeting:

President, Vice-Chancellor, WILLIAM T. MCCOUN.
Vice-Presidents, WILLIAM C. BRYANT, BENJAMIN ELLIS, THOMAS COCK, JOHN MCKEON, JACOB HARVEY, and DANIEL STANTON.
Secretaries, JACOB HARSEN, SAMUEL J. TILDEN, and JOSIAH HOPPER.

Agreeably to the call of the meeting, a committee was appointed to prepare a constitution for the permanent organization of a "society for the collection and diffusion of information on the subject of the *Punishment of Death*."

The committee having reported a constitution, and the same being adopted by the meeting, the following gentlemen were elected officers for the present year:

President, William C. Bryant; *Vice-Presidents*, Morris Franklin, John B. Scott; *Treasurer*, Benjamin Ellis; *Recording Secretary*, Josiah Hopper; *Corresponding Secretary*, John L. O'Sullivan; *Executive Committee*, Horace Greeley, William H. Channing, Parke Godwin, Samuel J. Tilden, and Jacob Harsen.

Scene in the Tennessee Legislature.—On the 17th instant, in the house of delegates of Tennessee, Mr. Miller made a speech charging the whigs with wasting the time of the house. As he concluded, there was some whistling and hissing heard from the whig side of the house. Mr. M. noticed that the junior member from Davidson had hissed or whistled at his remarks, and regarding it as a personal insult, he walked deliberately over to Mr. T. and expressed himself in severe personal terms. Mr. T raised a chair, and Mr. M. pressed upon him—a general mêlée of the members ensued, and the parties were only kept separated by the exertions of gentlemen of both parties.

Affray at Nashville—Beating a Judge.—We learn that an affray of an extraordinary character occurred at Nashville, on the 2d instant. It seems that Judge Turley, one of the judges of our supreme court, had offered a wanton insult to a highly respectable and amiable lady of Nashville, whose name we forbear mentioning. The facts were communicated to Major Turner, clerk of the circuit court, who being a relative of the lady, made her cause his own, and meeting the judge as he was leaving the court-house, inflicted upon him a caning, so sound and hearty, that he will have reason to remember it for some time to come.—*Knoxville Register.*

Died.

At Mount Pleasant, on the morning of the 4th instant, in the 31st year of her age, ABBY JANE PIERCE, daughter of Joseph and Hannah Pierce.

She endured a protracted illness (consumption) with great patience, having in the early part of it attained to a state of true resignation to the divine will. Her mental powers remained unimpaired to the last; saying, when near her close, that she felt nothing but love to every one, and was ready and willing to go. She was careful not to express more than was felt, but gave undoubted evidence of a preparation to meet the final change. Her whole life was one of gentleness and piety; she long took a deep interest in promoting the emancipation of the slaves, and was conscientious concerning using articles produced by their labor. Her example is worthy of imitation; while her death leaves a void, not easily filled in the circle of her friends; and the poor in her neighborhood have lost one who was ever ready to afford sympathy and aid.—[*Communicated.*

TREASURER'S RECEIPTS

For the week ending 2d mo. (Feb.) 17th, 1844.

Received for the Standard—The following persons have each paid $2: Edmund C. Tenney, East Bradford Mass; Mr. Sawyer, Royalton, Mass.; J. Blackledge, Somerton, Ohio; Hugh Foreman, Gwynedd, Pa.; Seth Hunt, Deerfield, Mass.; Mrs. Samuel May, Boston; Louisa A. Allen, Dedham, Mass.; Erasmus Hackett, Bloomfield, N. Y.; Mr. Stillman, $5.—Total, $16.

H. B. Abbott, Belfast, Me. $4; Ruth A. Bailey, Commons, R. I. $1; Julius Lyons, New Bedford, Mass. $3; S. Mason, Canterbury, Ct. $1 67; R. D. Sharp, Abington, Ct. $1 67; George Sharp, do. $2 09; Julia Tracy, Killingly, Ct. $1 75; Eliza Rodman, New Bedford, Mass. $3; J. H. Ames, Bradford, N. H. $1; L. Stockbridge, Hanover, Mass. $3 75; A. F. Hanna, Cadiz, Ohio, $1. Total $23 93.

Donations.—Chntral New-York State Society, $100.

ISAAC T. HOPPER, *Treasurer.*

NOTICES.

UNION FREE PRODUCE SOCIETY.

A stated meeting of the Union Free Produce Society, will be

Poetry.

THE MARTYR.

One of the poems submitted at the late anniversary meeting of the Alumnæ of the Albany Female Academy.

The Pilgrims, finding the penalties of imprisonment, scourging, &c. ineffectual in extirpating the "cursed heresy of the Quakers," proceeded, in 1658, to banish them from their jurisdiction, on pain of death. Mary Dyer, feeling that it was her duty to return, was thrown into prison, and after a trial for heresy, was condemned, and executed on Boston Common. All the time of her imprisonment was spent in petitioning the authorities of Boston on behalf of her oppressed people.—*Vide Sewall's History.*

The Sabbath sun is shining clear, and beautiful and bright
On Boston roof and holy spire, it sheds its silent light;
The hammer and the axe are still, the voice of mirth is o'er,
The peaceful waters of the bay are slumbering on the shore.

The Sabbath bell is pealing out upon the quiet air,
And sire, and son, and matron, meet within the house of prayer;
The pilgrim bows him lowly down, before his father's God,
Nor fears the frown of kingly wrath, the crosier, or the sword.

On every side the sound of praise is heard from Zion's flock;
Old ocean sends the anthem on it learned at Plymouth Rock;
Hill-side and valley echo back the loud ascending strain,
"The children of the Lord are free to worship Him again."

When lo! a sound of coming feet, a crowd is hurrying by,
With voice suppressed, and gesture stern, with dark and vengeful eye;
Is it a felon's fearful form that thus they hem around,
The murderer lurking for his prey, in secret ambush found?

No—'tis a female form—and closely on her breast,
Her arms like wings of wounded bird convulsively are pressed;
The wife—the mother struggle there—but in her eye the while
The spirit of the martyr shines, and on her lips his smile.

* * * * * * *

Another Sabbath sun is bright—but through the prison bars,
It falls upon the stony floor, like the pale beam of stars;
It flecks with light the crumbling wall, and lingers round a face,
Where high resolve, and might of mind, are blent with woman's grace.

No more for her the joyous day—nor gentle, soothing night,—
The glad earth with its wealth of flowers may never meet her sight;
And the breath of Heaven which comes to all, scarce finds its devious way,
By the long row of grated cells—mid arches dim and grey.

For her no more the voice of home, or grasp of kindred hand—
Around her now in dreams alone, her prattling infants stand;
In vain she bends her list'ning ear a husband's step to greet,
While echo gives the city's hum, and tread of careless feet.

But dungeon bolt, or darksome cell, her purpose cannot break,
Nor love of earth, with all its charms, one sigh of sorrow wake;
The prayer for life, the selfish want, her noble bosom spurns,
Thus pleads her heart for those she loves—for those her bosom burns.

"Take back the unrighteous law ye made, ye scourgers of the meek,
Who make the wolves amid the fold, my timerous people seek;
Is this the law your Saviour taught, when closely to His breast,
The erring of His feeble flock, in tender love He pressed?

"My life I ask not at your hands, if I must live to see,
My people's sufferings and wrongs, their want and misery;
Oh! what the paltry boon of breath, while those I hold most dear,
Must writhe beneath the oppressor's rod, and shed the bitter tear!"

But he, the faithful friend and true, who through life's rugged way,
Had ever been her friend and guide, her comfort and her stay;
He sues for her, and with those words the heart alone can give,
When all is threatened in this world, for which it wished to live.

He asks of pilgrim sires to leave the mother to his babes;
He asks of pilgrim men to yield the wife his bosom craves:
But she has bowed in heresy before the Almighty throne,
And blood alone to pilgrim sires this error must atone.

* * * * * *

Suns rise and set, and nights pass on—and now the last is near;
To-morrow, and affection's eye will gaze upon her bier:
His bosom owns a shuddering thrill, it never knew before,
As fades the last beam in the West—to fade for her no more.

Oh! never had this beauteous world seemed half so fair and gay,
As mirrored in her lonely heart, its depth of beauty lay;
And never to that yearning heart was earthly love more sweet,
Or thrilled it with such conscious joy affection's voice to greet.

And that bright spot—her happy home—ah! here she turns away—
May God now in her agony, her fainting spirit stay,
Lest the mother triumph o'er the saint, in the last fearful strife,
And in the dimness of her faith, she trembling ask for life.

Hark! whence that step whose echo falls like music on her ear?
Sudden it ceases—comes again—near, and more plainly near;
It stops—the iron bolt is drawn—the door is open thrown,
And now the husband and the wife are mingling tears alone.

And hast thou come, my best beloved? Wouldst thou, too, have me stay?
Thy love the only fetter now I have not torn away?
It cannot be—Oh, bear me up—and let me calmly die,
Take thou in faith this bitter cup—it may not pass thee by!

"I know full well thine agony—I feel thy burning cheek;
I see it in thy quivering lips, though not a word they speak!
But calm thee now, and let my soul go joyously and free,
The only pang it cannot bear, is parting thus with thee!

"'But bear thou on,' when I am gone—and steadfastly endure!
New-England's shrines shall yet be free—her worship shall be pure!
Her martyr voices loud shall speak, among her many hills,
They'll whisper in her leafy woods, and from her thousand rills!

"'Aye, bear thee on' unto the end, with firm, unyielding heart,
The doom that tears me from thy side, our spirits cannot part.
Farewell! farewell! the God who gives strength in this fearful hour,
Will keep thee in the conflict, by His almighty power."

* * * * * * *

'Tis morn—a silent crowd are met on Boston's peaceful green,
And on the gibbit's dizzy height a female form is seen;
One moment of protracted life—but not in mercy given—
Another—and her parted soul has passed the gates of Heaven.

Oh, pilgrim fathers! ye who fled the genial home of youth,
And crossed the ocean's trackless depths—stern guardians of the Truth!
Who left your fallen comrades' bones upon our wintry strand!
That here an altar to the Lord might unpolluted stand!

That ye—the landmarks of your time—the good and noble few!
Should leave upon New-England's page a tale so sadly true,
But shows, alas! the human heart, all firm in peril's hour,
Bows down like Hazael unto crime beneath the weight of power.

Miscellany.

From the Boston Courier.

LETTER FROM NEW-YORK.

BY L. MARIA CHILD.

Unusual excitement has prevailed in this city for a fortnight past, concerning the trial of Amelia Norman for an assault on Henry S. Ballard, with intent to kill. That the prosecutor is a Bostonian by birth, is a fact I would gladly suppress, for the credit of my native city, and for the sake of his worthy and highly respectable parents.

There was a host of witnesses, many of them of the highest respectability, ready to prove that this was a case of deliberate seduction and base desertion. That the poor girl had been subjected to wrongs and insults, enough to drive her mad. At the period of her arrest, she was living at the house of a respectable and kind-hearted German, by the name of Behren. He supposed her to be a widow, and hired her to iron shirts for his clothing-store; an employment she would not have been likely to seek, if she had been the abandoned creature Ballard chooses to represent her. The German testified that for several days previous to her arrest, he and his family considered her insane; that she acted in the wildest way, and was evidently quite unconscious what she was doing; that at times, her anguish seemed intolerable, and vented itself in sobs and tears; then she would laugh, by the half hour together, with a mad laughter. Whether she was an accountable being at the moment she committed the desperate deed, and how far she was in a state to be capable of deliberate intent, passes the wisdom of mortals to decide. She herself says: "God alone can judge me, for he alone knows to what a dreadful state of agony and desperation I was driven."

In prison, her despair was most painful to witness. The physician, as he passed and repassed her cell, in the course of his professional duties, often saw her for hours together, lying on the stone floor, sobbing and groaning in mortal agony. I shall never forget her pale and haggard looks, and the utter hopelessness of her tones, when I first saw her in that tomb-like apartment. May I be forgiven, if, at times, I hated law, so unequal in its operation, so crushing in its power. The kind-hearted physician made the most touching representations concerning the state of her health, and his continual fear of suicide. The bail demanded for her temporary release, was $5,000. Efforts were made to reduce this sum; but Ballard's counsel, aware that her situation excited commiseration, spared no pains to prevent it. Exertions were made to obtain affidavits that she still continued to say she would kill her seducer, if ever she could get at him. But the sympathies of all who approached her were excited in her favor, and the worst thing they could report of her was, that in one of her bitter moods, she said, "she sometimes thought turn about was fair play." Two-thirds of the community, nurtured and trained as they are in the law of violence, needed to summon all *their* respect for law and order, to keep from openly expressing sympathy with this opinion. Let them ask themselves what they would have said and done, if they had been situated like her; with all those terrible wrongs eating into her heart and brain, like fire. May this consideration lead no one to excuse or palliate the dreadful crime of murder, but may it teach them to reflect well on the false structure of society,

William Thom, the Beggar Poet of England, says, with impetuous eloquence:

Here let me speak out—and be heard, too, while I tell it—that the world does not at all times know how unsafely it sits; when Despair has loosed honor's last hold upon the heart—when transcendent wretchedness lays weeping Reason in the dust—when every unsympathizing on looker is deemed an enemy—who THEN can limit the consequences? For my own part, I confess that, ever since that dreadful night, I can never hear of an extraordinary criminal, without the wish to pierce through the mere judicial views of his career, under which, I am persuaded, there would often be found to exist an unseen impulse—a chain with one end fixed in nature's holiest ground, that drew him on to his destiny.

The trial was to have commenced on Monday, the 15th. On the preceding Saturday afternoon, the prisoner's counsel announced the necessity of withdrawing his services, in order to attend to another important case, which came on the same day. The idea of transferring her case to a stranger, without time to examine into its merits, proved the drop too much for a spirit that had so long been under the pressure of extreme despondency. The unfortunate girl made preparations for suicide, by braiding a rope from her bedclothes. In twenty minutes more, she would have passed beyond the power of human tribunals; but the keeper chanced at that moment to enter her gallery, to summon another prisoner, and discovered her preparations.

Ballard's counsel was extremely derirous to push the case through on Monday. He seemed to calculate that it would be an easy matter to thrust aside this "vile prostitute," as he termed her, and by adroit management of legal technicalities, screen his client from public exposure. But, thank God, human sympathies are warm and active, even amid the malaria of cities. The young friend to whom I dedicated my volume of New-York Letters, whose kindness of heart is only equalled by his energy of purpose, gained the ear of the judges, and earnestly entreated for postponement. He took upon himself the expenses of the trial, trusting Providence for aid. A noble-souled, warm-hearted stranger, a Mr. Carney, of Boston, though a man of limited means, offered fifty dollars, and went with him to procure the services of David Graham, esq. one of the ablest lawyers in our criminal courts. The sum was of course much smaller than his usual fee, but he was influenced by higher motives than pecuniary recompense. When he entered upon the case, he was surprised at the amount of respectable testimony in favor of the girl's character, previous to her acquaintance with Ballard. His heart was touched by the story of her wrongs, confirmed as it was by a multitude of witnesses. On the second day of the trial, he wrote me a noble letter, returning the money, for the prisoner's benefit, declaring that this trial involved considerations higher and holier than the relations of lawyer and client. The blessing of God be with him! During four weary days, he exerted himself with watchful vigilance and untiring zeal. His appeal in behalf of outraged womanhood, was a noble burst of heartfelt eloquence, which I shall forever remember with gratitude and admiration.

The case was likewise conducted with great ability on the part of Mr. Sandford, counsel for the prosecution, and a personal friend of Ballard's; but it was a kind of ability from which my open-hearted nature shrinks, as it would from the cunning of the fox, and the subtlety of the serpent. He could not have managed the case as he did, if he had ever had a sister or daughter thus betrayed. This consideration abated the indignation which sometimes kindled in my soul, at witnessing so much power exerted against a poor human being, already so crushed and desolate. Moreover, I pitied him for obvious ill-health, for having the management of so bad a cause, and for the almost total want of sympathy to sustain him in his trying position.

In opening the case, he assured the jury that Amelia Norman was a woman of the town, before Ballard became acquainted with her; that she had decoyed him to her lodgings, and had followed him up with a series of annoying persecutions, to obtain money, according to the custom of prostitutes with their poor victims. That on one occasion, she had even gone to his store with an infamous companion, and beat him with their parasols. He did not, however, mention that this companion was another victim of his treacherous client. Having thus blackened the character of the unfortunate prisoner, he contended that no evidence concerning her character or Ballard's should be admitted; that the testimony must be strictly confined to the evening when the stabbing took place. The judge sustained him; and for two days, there was a perpetual fighting with witnesses, to keep the truth out of court. Sandford contended that the jury were to decide solely upon the fact whether the woman assaulted Ballard with intent to kill; and that they had nothing to do with the prior or subsequent history of either of the parties. Graham, on the other hand, urged that it was necessary to prove the wrongs she had suffered, and her consequent state of mind and health, in order to decide upon her intent. There was keen sparring between the lawyers, and the witnesses were sometimes bewildered which to answer. This suppression of evidence, after defaming the character of the girl in such wholesale terms, doubtless produced its effect on the mind of the jury, and somewhat influenced their verdict.

But though Mr. Sandford sprung every way, to stop up any crevice through which the impertinent light might enter, enough did get before the jury, to satisfy them that Amelia Norman had been a virtuous, discreet, amiable, and quiet girl, before her acquaintance with Ballard; and that the history of her wrongs was no fiction of romance.

The counsel for the prisoner, on his part, described her seducer's character and conduct in terms that must have been anything but soothing or agreeable to his ear.* Mr. Sandford reminded the jury that one lawyer's word was just as much to be believed as another; that it was their duty to be guided only by the evidence. Mr. Graham retorted "But where is *your* evidence? There stand *our* thirty witnesses, ready to prove every word we have stated, and a good deal more, if the court will only allow them to be heard." And then he distinctly named the witnesses, their occupations, places of residence, &c. with what they *would* testify if opportunity were given.

It was an adroit game; as exciting to watch, as a skillful game of chess. I never before felt so much intellectual respect, and so much moral aversion, for the legal profession.

Mr. Sandford's Biblical arguments evinced much less acuteness than his legal distinctions. While postraying the horrors of murder, he urged the usual plea, that the Divine abhorrence of it was evinced by the requisition of "blood for blood," and he sustained this position, by the mark which God set upon Cain. He apparently forgot that the mark was set upon Cain in order that men should *not* slay him. Unfortunately for the advocates of capital punishment, this is the only case on record, where the direct agency of God was interposed in a case of murder.

Mr. Sandford likewise found the first seducer in the Bible, in the person of our mother Eve, and said the serpent had been busy with the sex ever since. He drew a lively picture of poor innocent men tempted, betrayed, and persecuted by women. This was putting the saddle on the wrong horse, with a vengeance! And he himself afterward implied as much; for he reminded the jury that there were twelve thousand prostitutes in New-York, supported by money that came from our citizens; and added, that *all these prostitutes had the same wrongs to revenge upon somebody.* He asked the jury whether it would be worse to have the virtue of their daughters ruined, or their young and generous sons brought home stabbed by the hands of prostitutes. If this precedent were established, he feared that strangers visiting New-York would stumble over the dead bodies of citizens, at the very thresholds of their own doors.

I had no doubt that if all deeply injured women were to undertake to redress their wrongs in this bad way, there would be a huge pile of dead citizens. (I even thought it not impossible that some of the honorable court themselves might be among the missing.) I was aware that ribs all around the room felt unsafe in view of the picture the pleader had drawn. It unquestionably was an argument that came home to men's business and bosoms. Yet I felt no very active pity for their terror. I indignantly asked what had been done to the twelve thousand men, who made these poor creatures prostitutes? I remembered that strangers visiting our city continually stumbled upon something worse than dead bodies, viz: degraded, ruined souls, in the forms of those twelve thousand prostitutes: and I asked, what do "law and order" do for *them?* Mr. Sandford declared that women could take care of themselves as well as men. Perhaps so; but his twelve thousand facts show that women do *not* take care of themselves; and he urged that "generous youths" were continually led astray by this band of prostitutes, though of course, the temptation must be merely animal, unmingled with the seductive influence of the affections, which so often leads woman to ruin, through the agency of her best impulses.

But to return to the trial; Mr. Graham dwelt strongly on the point that unless the jury deemed there was sufficient evidence of deliberate intent, to constitute murder in case the man had died, they were bound to acquit. The jury were doubtless in a state to go through any legal loophole, that might be opened. The frantic state of the prisoner's mind, so clearly shown in the evidence, seemed to them too nearly akin to insanity to be easily distinguished. The inequality of the laws roused their sense of justice, and probably made them feel that a verdict of guilty would be like tying down the stones and letting the mad dogs loose. They felt little anxiety to protect Ballard, by sending his victim to Sing Sing, that he might feel safe to prowl about after other daughters and sisters of honest families. The popular indignation, which was with difficulty suppressed by a strong constabulary force, showed plainly enough that the public would like to say to them—

"I beseech you,
Wrest once the law to your authority;
To do a great right do a little wrong;
And curb this cruel devil of his will."

I believe they strove to resist this magnetic influence, and to return such a verdict as they honestly believed the testimony in the case rendered lawful. When the foreman pronounced the words "Not Guilty!" the building shook with such a thunder of applause as I never before heard. Some of the very officers appointed to keep order, involuntarily let their tip-staffs fall on the floor, and clapped with the multitude. It was the surging of long repressed sympathies coming in like a roaring sea.

I am by no means deaf to the plea for the preservation of law and order. My compassion for the prisoner's wrongs has never for a moment blinded me to the guilt of revenge. But legislators may rest assured that law will yield, like a rope of sand before the influence of humane sentiments, in cases of this kind, until the laws are better regulated. Seduction is going on by wholesale, with a systematic arrangement, and a number and variety of agents, which would astonish those who have never looked beneath the hypocritical surface of things. In our cities, almost every girl, in the humbler classes of life, walks among snares and pitfalls at every step, unconscious of their presence, until she finds herself fallen, and entangled in a frightful net-work, from which she sees no escape. Life and property are protected, but what protection is there for pure hearts, confiding souls, and youthful innocence?

During the first two days of the trial, Ballard was brought into court, by subpœna from the prisoner's

* He stated that a deliberate plad of seduction had been laid, that Ballard had lived with the prisoner at various respectable boarding-houses, calling her his wife, assuming the name of Mr. and Mrs. Brown, Mr. and Mrs. Williams, &c. That he had afterward left her at a house of prostitution, pretending it was a respectable boarding-house, and had gone to Europe without her knowledge, leaving her without money. That she left the house as soon as she discovered its character, and strove to earn her living by honest industry. That when he returned from Europe, she remonstrated with him for deserting her, and he answered, "Damn you, go and get your living, as other prostitutes do."

while were laughing and joking among themselves, and seemed highly delighted with their entertainment. The old chief appeared the most jocular of the party, and from the glances he cast on some of the female attendants, one might judge him to be a *mauvais sujet.*

Previous to the Indians being presented to her majesty, Mr. Catlin had the honor, a few days since, to introduce them to his royal highness the Duke of Cambridge; Baron Knesebeck, and the Hon. C. A. Murray being present. All these distinguished individuals were much pleased with the wild appearance of the group, and expressed themselves highly gratified with several of the dances that were gone through. His royal highness has subsequently transmitted to them several valuable and appropriate presents, consisting of trinkets, tobacco, and ten sovereigns, which latter, the Indians designate as "yellow dirt." The Ojibbeways, it is expected, will return to America in the spring. They are subjects of the British crown, and their tribe is the largest of the native Indian tribes that owe allegiance to her majesty.

The Hon. Mr. Murray and Mr. Catlin, both of whom are experienced in the language of the Ojibbeways, stated that they had never heard a more eloquent Indian speech than was delivered by the war chief.—*London paper.*

SWISS COSTUMES.

There can be no more striking indication of the pertinacity with which the people cling to their old habits, and of the little intercourse between different parts even of the same country, than the circumstance that each of the twenty-six cantons of Switzerland has a very peculiar and distinct costume of its own, never varying within its limits, and never found beyond them. The greatest oddity is seen in the head-dresses of the female peasants. In Berne they wear around their heads a circle of wings of black lace, spreading out from their faces like the sides of a wind-mill. In Freyburg they have flapping straw hats, with rims broad enough for Brobdignag, but crowns small enough for Lilliput. In Schwitz they wear on the back of their heads a white lace cap, shaped like the magnified flower of the sweet pea. In Appenzell two ornaments like eagles' wings shoot out from each ear, and are kept together by a glittering band of beads. In Tessin, a dozen small daggers with gilded and carved handles, project from the head, which they surround like a radiating halo, while a sort of round carving-knife passes through the knot of hair behind. In the Grisons, a green hat bears a plume of the *lammergeyer*, or vulture of the Alps. Each varies thus, and each has a corresponding dress equally peculiar and gaily picturesque, and each is so distinct from the other, that an experienced eye can tell at once to which of the twenty-six cantons the wearer belongs.—*Foreign Correspondence of the N. Y. Tribune.*

A WORTHY EXAMPLE.

An agriculturist was under the necessity of selling a small farm adjoining the park at Strathfieldsage. The Duke of Wellington's steward bought it, and on the return of his grace, who was absent at the time, he was informed that it was purchased very cheap. "Cheap!" exclaimed the duke; "I want no man's land cheap. Let two persons survey and value the farm." Which being done, it was appraised several hundred pounds higher than the price previously agreed on, which the duke ordered to be paid, observing that he could better afford to pay a fair price, than the owner to take an unfair one, and that he wanted no man's land cheap.—*Boston Cultivator.*

From the New Bedford Mercury.

FLOATING ALARM WHISTLE.

Among Mr. Hobbs's numerous inventions for the preservation of life and property at sea, is a floating alarm whistle, of such power as to be heard at the distance of many miles. The object is to give mariners timely notice of shoals or rocks in the night time, or in foggy weather. It is somewhat similar to a large barrel organ, with a downward projection in the centre, and moored with a check chain to the bottom, to prevent a heavy sea from upsetting it. The motion of the waves gives a continual seesaw motion, and there is an arrangement of valves, by which at every depression the water could be carried through the bottom from the centre of the shaft, driving out the air which had entered at its previous rising, up a chimney. The whistle is composed of nine powerful tongues, on the accordion principle, and there is an arrangement by which nine more powerful tongues act, but only in very rough weather, thus increasing the sound during the farther raging of the storm. A sounding beacon is also among his valuable inventions, for fixing on rocks, which, always turning its mouth to the wind, would in a small current make a powerful noise.

A Noble Answer.—A peasant was observed by a young "nobleman" to be very punctual in his attendance upon the services in a neighboring chapel. When he was returning home on one occasion, the nobleman accosted him, and said, "Well, Tom, you have been at church, and I suppose it is all done now." "No," replied the peasant, "it is all *said* and I am going home to pray that it may all be *done.*"

A philosopher has said that he never knew a farmer to become rich who rose late in the morning.

FOR HOUSEKEEPERS AND FARMERS.

Fruit Garden and Orchards.—Gooseberries, currants, and raspberries, may now be pruned if the weather be tolerably mild. Fruit trees that grow luxuriantly, and do not bear, should be pruned in the roots. Cut away the wood in grape-vines that have borne fruit the preceding season, and leave the wood formed that season to bear fruit the ensuing year. If grape pruning is left until the sap begins to rise, the vines will bleed profusely, and suffer much injury. It is said that the first bud on a shoot will not produce fruit. Consequently a second or third should be left in pruning.

Kitchen Garden.—Sow early cucumbers and melons in hot-beds. If well managed, the cucumbers sown early in this month, will produce fruit in April. Celery can be sown in a warm border, and will be ready to vegetate the first mild weather.

Scions may be cut during this and the two succeeding months, for grafting, and carefully laid away in a cool, damp place, till required for use. If the roots have not been assorted when stored for the winter, the best should now be selected for seed and use, and the remainder fed out to the stock, previous to a growth of green food in the spring.

Hens.—If you expect hens to lay during winter, they must have a warm room, and plenty of suitable food. A stone, brick, or what is better than either, a clay house, impervious to wind and cold, with a supply of oats, shrunk wheat, barley, and even corn, with some animal food added, in addition to a supply of gravel and old mortar or lime, and water, will give you a constant supply of fresh eggs all winter.—*American Agriculturist.*

Care of Cattle.—Cows that calve in March, will need better hay in February than they required in the two past months. If you have any prudence or compassion, suffer not your cows to be bowed by the neck when they are nigh calving. The first drink that you give the cow after she has dropped her calf, should be as warm as her milk. If she has been taught to drink swill, she will drink her own milk, should you offer it as soon as you have drawn it from her udder. If she refuses it, let her have a pailful of water with a shovel-full of hot embers thrown into it. She will be very thirsty, but you must not let her drink more than one pailful at a time during the twenty-four hours. Milk away all you can get before the calf knows what you are about—he will then nestle the udder and drain it clean, and prevent soreness and swelling.—*Ib.*

Borers Introduced in Chip-Dung.—We never recommend placing chip-dung around any kind of fruit trees, for fear of introducing borers. The apple-tree borer is found in the ash and the locust tree; also in some others, and it is not prudent to make use of chip-dung there, or any rotten woody substance. If it were not for the worms that are so prevalent in chip-dung, it would be a very good material to keep the earth loose about fruit trees. We find the same trouble when we manure our potatoes with chip-dung—worms, worms.—*Ploughman.*

To Roast Potatoes.—I saw a mode of roasting potatoes a few days since, that was new to me. I do not know but it is practiced by every lady where I am not present to see it. Take an old cracked iron kettle, hang it over the fire, put in embers, then the potatoes, and then more ashes and embers, and you will soon have them well roasted by the heat above and below. Anybody may do it if they only could think of it.—*Maine Farmer.*

TEXAN REVOLUTION.

Republished (with additions) at Washington, D. C., from the Northampton (Mass.) Gazette.

To which is added,—

A LETTER FROM WASHINGTON, ON THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS, AND THE LATE OUTRAGE IN CALIFORNIA—REPUBLISHED, WITH ADDITIONS, FROM THE LIBERATOR. By Probus.

This is a pamphlet of about 100 large octavo pages. Only a small part consists of the republications; the additions being ten or twelve times larger than the originals. The subjects discussed, are:—

I. The history and merits of the Texan Revolution, under the following heads:

1. The perfidy of the President, and the lawless proceedings of citizens of the United States, who went to Texas "to sow a rebellion."

2. Kindness, hospitality, and generosity of the Mexicans; ingratitude and treachery of the revolutionists.

3. Pretexts of the Revolution. Under this head is a very full account of the political changes which have taken place in Mexico, and of their causes;—the working of the Federative or Federal form of Government, as compared with the Consolidated or Central, in the South American States; a comparative history of *Nullification* in Mexico and the United States; the difference between the South American Federal and Central systems substantially that between our present form of government, and the form proposed by ALEXANDER HAMILTON; the political history of the South American States, and the history and prospects of nullification in the United States, some test of the comparative value of the two systems.

4. Real Causes of the Texan Revolution.

II. The subject of the second Part, or Letter, is the design of annexing Texas to this Union, *at the first session of the next Congress.* The subdivisions of this subject are:—

1. Review of a letter (said to have been, originally, private,) of ex-Governor Gilmer, of Virginia, on the necessity of the speedy annexation of Texas.

2. The principles, speeches, reports, official correspondence, and operations of the leading and confidential friends of John Tyler, in the Cabinet, and in Congress; the alliance between them and the leading members of the democratic party for the extension and perpetuation of slavery and the slave trade, by the acquisition of Texas and California; the outrage committed by Commodore Jones in the latter province, a part, and in execution, of the secret schemes of the cabinet, and a natural result of their spirit and purposes; the ostensible reasons for that outrage examined.

3. The determination and tendency of their policy to bring about a war between the United States of the one part, and Mexico and Great Britain of the other; it being perfectly understood that the former cannot be despoiled of territory fifteen times as large as the State of New-York, and eighty times as large as Massachusetts, without war with Great Britain, as well as with her

4. The Oregon Bill, a part of the said schemes.

5. The questions of *Visitation* and *Search*, on the coast of Africa, for the arrest of slave trading pirates; the actual extent of the slave trade, and its exclusive prosecution under the American flag; the Quintuple and Ashburton Treaties, Gen. Cass's pamphlet and correspondence in France.

6. Negotiations of our government with Mexico for the cession of Texas and California, from the accession of Gen. Jackson to the present time; Character and proceedings of Messrs. Poinsett and Butler, ministers of the United States, in Mexico; suppression, and probable destruction of official documents; *corruption* brought to light; correspondence of Messrs. Webster and Thompson, with Messrs. de Bocanegra and Almonte; *mistranslations*, in our Department of State, and in our Legation at Mexico, of Mexican official documents.

APPENDIX.

1. John Quincy Adams's opinion of the conduct of our government towards Mexico, extracted from his address to his constituents, September 12, 1842.

2. Collection of Proclamations of neutrality, issued by Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Van Buren, and Tyler.

☞ For Sale at this Office.

THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

Upright men shall be astonished at this, and the innocent shall stir up himself against the hypocrite.—Job. xvii. 8.

Abhor detraction, the sin of fallen angels, and the worst of fallen men.—*Wm. Penn.*

NARRATIVE of the Proceedings of the Monthly Meeting of New-York, and their Subsequent Confirmation by the Quarterly and Yearly Meetings, in the case of Isaac T. Hopper. Just published, and for sale at this office, No. 143 Nassau street, New-York; and at the Anti-Slavery Office, No. 31 North Fifth street, Philadelphia.

KENNETT SQUARE BOARDING SCHOOL.

For Young Men and Boys.

THIS institution occupies one of the most pleasant and healthy situations in Chester county, Pa. on the mail route between Baltimore and Philadelphia, and about 12 miles northwest of Wilmington, Delaware. With each of the above-mentioned places, there is an easy communication by means of stages.

The course of mathematical instruction will include algebra, geometry, plane and spherical trigonometry, surveying, mensuration, astronomy, &c.

The ordinary branches of an English education, reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar, geography, history, composition, &c.—will be thoroughly taught. Instruction will also be given in book-keeping, and in the Latin and French languages. The study of Botany will be made thorough and practical—the pupils with their teacher, will make frequent excursions, for the examination of plants, during the season of flowers.

Parents may rest assured that the most careful attention will be paid to the health and morals of the pupils. The neighborhood has acquired no small degree of distinction for its highly intellectual and moral standing.

Scholars, coming from a distance will be expected to board at the institution, where they will be under the constant care of the teacher.

TERMS:—For tuition, boarding, washing, &c. $80 per term of *eleven weeks*, one half payable in advance. An extra charge of $4, will be made for instruction in either of the languages. Boys, under twelve years, studying the common branches only, may be admitted for $25 per term. Pupils will furnish their own wash-basins and towels. Books and stationery furnished at the usual prices.

The term will commence the first second day in the eleventh month (November). There will be two vacations; one in the spring, the other in the fall.

JONATHAN LAMBORN, *Principal.*
JEREMIAH HAYHURST, *Teacher.*
Chester co. Pa. August 31, 1843. 6m.

FREE CALICOES!

JUST received, 1 case fine calicoes. Also, 2 cases fine shirting muslins; together with a large assortment of other free dry goods, at reduced prices, wholesale and retail. CHARLES WISE,
Northwest corner Arch and Fifth streets.
Philadelphia, 8th, mo. 17th 1843. tf.

TEXAS AND MEXICO.

JUST published, and for sale at 143 Nassau street, fourth part of "The Legion of Liberty:" being a remonstrance of some of the Free Men, States, and Presses, to the Texan Rebellion, against the laws of Nature and of Nations. Price 6 cts. single; 50 cts. per dozen.

PHILADELPHIA ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE.

No. 31, North Fifth street.

The National Anti-Slavery Standard, will be issued regularly from this office, on Thursday of every week.

TERMS—the same as in New-York; i. e. $2,00 a year if paid in advance; $2,50 if not paid within six months. $10,00 in advance will pay for six copies for one year, sent to one address; and $30,00 will pay for twenty copies.

A full assortment of anti-slavery publications is kept constantly on hand. Also, a handsome variety of miscellaneous books, and useful and fancy stationery.

All letters relating to the business of the office should be directed to *J. Miller McKim*, No. 31 North Fifth st.

LOCAL AGENTS FOR THE STANDARD.

EDWARD M. DAVIS, Philadelphia, Penn.
J. MILLER M'KIM, " "
AMARANCY PAINE, Providence, R. I.
LORRIN WHITING, New Marlborough, Mass.
LUTHER MYRICK, Cazenovia, N. Y.
W. C. BLOSS, Rochester, N. Y.
JAMES COOPER, Williamson, Wayne Co., N. Y.
PLINY SEXTON, Palmyra, " "
J. C. HATHAWAY, Farmington, Ontario Co., N. Y.
WM. T. CRITTENDEN, Rushville, " "
WM. P. POWELL, No. 61 Cherry st., New-York City
THOMAS MCCLINTOCK, Waterloo, N. Y.
MORRIS EARLE, Penn Yan, Yates Co., N. Y.
R. D. H. YERKLEY, Rushville, N. Y.
ROBERT H. FOLGER, Massillon, Ohio.
SETH WHITMORE, Dixon's Ferry, Lee Co., Ill.
SLOCOMB HOWLAND, Sherwood Corners, Cayuga co. N. Y
PRINCE JACKSON, Syracuse, Onondaga Co., N. Y.
THOS. HUTCHINSON, King's Ferry, Cayuga Co. N. Y
CALEB B. ROGERS, Norwich, Conn.
H. W. WILLIAMS, 25 Cornhill, Boston, Mass.
J. C. MERRITT, Bethpage, L. I.
JESSE HOLMES, Lloydsville, Belmont Co., Ohio.
JOSEPH A. DUGDALE, Cortsville, Clark Co., Ohio.
JAMES BOYLE, Cincinnati, Ohio.
ASAPH TURNER, Geneva, Ashtabula Co. Ohio.
JAMES AUSTIN, Marlborough, Stark Co. "
ISAAC LEWIS, Short Creek, Harrison Co., Ohio.
DR. ABRAHAM BROOKE, Oakland, Clinton Co., Ohio.
WILLIAM CRAFT, St. Clairsville, Ohio.
Capt. ALEXANDER H. ROBINSON, Nantucket, Mass.
DOCTOR IDDINGS, Greensboro, Henry county, Ia.
R. E. GRELEY, Oberlin, Lorain Co. Ohio.
DAVID WOOD, Mt. Gilead, Marion county, Ohio